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Article Calls for Tank Forces 'Zero Option'

OW1611043088 Tokyo KYODO in English 0322 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, Nov. 16 KYODO—The November edition of a Soviet Foreign Ministry bulletin made available Wednesday carries an article calling for a "zero option" in tank forces by abolishing them in both East and West.

Economist Vitaliy Shlykov, writing in the monthly bulletin, INTERNATIONAL LIFE, said that tank forces are a dangerous anachronism in the nuclear era when both sides realize there can be no victor in a nuclear war.

The belief among top Soviet officials that Soviet power in the world can be assured by owning impressive numbers of tanks is a holdover from the Stalinist era, Shlykov said.

It is also mainly responsible for widening the gap in tank forces between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact nations, he said.

Citing data from Western sources, Shlykov said that at present in Europe, the Warsaw Pact has 52,200 tanks while NATO has 22,200.

This imbalance in tank forces has been a focus of conventional arms reduction talks the Soviet Union has recently been actively pursuing with the West.

This is the first time for an article advocating total abolition of tank forces by both blocs to be printed in a Soviet official publication.

10th Round of Geneva Talks To End 16 November

LD1511165388 Moscow TASS in English 1645 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Geneva November 15 TASS—The current, tenth round of the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons will end on November 16, 1988.

The sides proceed from the assumption that the delegations will resume their work as soon as possible.

The precise date for the next round of talks will be agreed on additionally.

Kampelman Cited on Progress at Geneva Talks

LD1511214888 Moscow TASS in English 1840 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Geneva November 15 TASS—Max Kampelman, head of the U.S. delegation at the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms in Geneva, told journalists today that definite progress had been achieved in completing a joint draft treaty on a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive arms. "Some progress, limited but real," was registered in the sphere of space weapons, he noted.

At the same time the head of the U.S. delegation mentioned major disagreements on some issues which, in his words, both sides understand now better than in the past and which can be resolved at the talks.

Kampelman also said that he had formally informed Aleksey Obukhov, head of the Soviet delegation, of a desire of President-elect George Bush to establish "a more stable relationship" between Washington and Moscow. In this context Bush regards the Geneva talks "as a vital and indispensable means" of attaining that goal.

Inspectors Visit U.S. Base at Comiso

LD1511182988 Moscow TASS in English 1811 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Rome November 15 TASS—A Soviet inspection group staying in Italy in line with the Soviet-American INF Treaty came today to the U.S. base in Comiso (Sicily) where cruise missiles are deployed.

The first visit of Soviet inspectors to Comiso was made last August.

Pershing-2 Withdrawal Continues in FRG

LD1511174788 Moscow TASS in English 1703 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Bonn November 15 TASS—Withdrawal of the first nine "Pershing-2" nuclear missiles from the U.S. base at Mutlangen (Baden-Wuerttemberg) was started today in compliance with the Soviet-American INF agreement. Deployed at this base are 36 missiles of this type. The first batch of such missiles was removed from another American base at Heilbronn (Baden-Wuerttemberg) on September 1, 1988.

The missiles, covered by the agreement, are being taken to the Frankfurt-am-Main suburb of Hausen and then flown to the United States for demolition.

Representatives of the local anti-war movement have welcomed the started withdrawal of "Pershing-2" missiles from the Mutlangen base. At the same time, it is stressed in the movement's leaflet, circulated in this connection, it is revolting that the U.S. brass continue to hold exercises in the FRG involving the use of "Pershing-2" missiles in spite of the Soviet-American INF agreement.

FRG Paper Cited on NATO Missiles

PM1411105788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Ye. Grigoryev dispatch: "How Many Missiles Does NATO Have? FRANFURTER ALLGEMEINE Information"]

[Text] Bonn, 7 Nov—FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE reported that "at present NATO has 88 launchers for 'Lance' tactical missiles. The number of actual missiles in Europe and of their nuclear warheads is not officially reported, but it is considerably higher than this."

"It turns out," the newspaper continues, "that at present NATO has approximately 600 nuclear warheads for 'Lance' missiles. The overall number of these missiles is considerably greater—somewhere between 2,000-3,000 units."

What's this? Literally every day, using the number of launchers (88) alone, all NATO propaganda elements have claimed that the Soviet Union is many times superior in tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. General J. Galvin, commander in chief of the NATO Armed Forces, has just referred to this in his report to the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Bonn. Short-range nuclear missiles are NATO Secretary General M. Woerner's favorite topic. Citing the aforementioned superiority, the FRG Government urges the Soviet Union to unilaterally reduce its tactical missiles (although it is well known that the USSR is in general ready to completely eliminate nuclear weapons in Europe). Soviet "superiority" plus the imaginary obsolescence of the "Lance missiles" are, moreover, the main arguments in NATO circles fighting for the modernization of NATO's nuclear missile components.

The new data published by FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE nullifies both these arguments. The quantitative correlation in terms of tactical nuclear weapons between NATO (not including the French weapons, moreover) and the Warsaw Pact emerges as quite different. Qualitatively, "Lance" missiles are by no means obsolete.

An influential section of the NATO top brass is endeavoring to acquire new nuclear weapons systems under the guise of modernization. "The next system," FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE writes, "must be superior to 'Lance' in terms of both accuracy and range." It continues as follows: "With the introduction of tactical missiles with a range of slightly less than 500 km, NATO will be able to at least cover some of the targets that have hitherto been designated for intermediate-range missiles."

But wouldn't this in effect be open subversion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles?

The following question remains: What provoked the article in the prestigious West German newspaper? I would not preclude the thesis that information about the NATO missiles was "leaked" owing to the fact that the Pentagon is clearly stepping up its pressure on Bonn, demanding that it determine its position on "modernization" more rapidly. But such a political decision, quite clearly, would result in a serious exacerbation of the domestic political situation within the FRG, and this cannot fail to alarm ruling circles, even if it is only because the country is gradually approaching a Bundestag election. People in Bonn say this question is not topical and are putting it off for the time being. So the sensational FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE article may be a kind of countermove. But whatever the case, it sheds light on what NATO hitherto considered a well-kept secret.

Official Notes Support for European Summit

LD0911223088 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 1900 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Text] The Soviet Union hopes for the convening of a summit meeting by the heads of state from the European countries, the United States, and Canada in the current cooperation and disarmament talks. This was stated by Soviet Deputy Justice Minister N.A. Osetrov, who spoke at a gathering to mark the 71st anniversary of the October revolution in Helsinki. The event was attended by President of the Republic Mauno Koivisto and his wife. A speech was delivered at the event by Justice Minister Matti Louekoski.

CEMA Advisor on Need for Currency Reform

LD0811002288 Moscow International Service in Polish 1400 GMT 26 Nov 88

["Second part" of report on commentary by Sergey Ugarov, CEMA Secretariat adviser, entitled "On the Road to the Common Market"]

[Text] It should be recalled that in the first discussion we presented why, at the present stage of cooperation, the need for a common market has appeared, and what enterprise will gain if such a market is set up. We also emphasized that to be able to set up the market it is necessary to create conditions for a free flow of goods. However, the creation of such conditions is not everything, says Sergey Ugarov, author of the commentary and advisor of the CEMA Secretariat. All accounting in mutual trade between CEMA member-countries is now based on a common currency—the transferable ruble. The currency cannot be exchanged freely for the currency of other states. Also, the national currencies of the CEMA member states cannot be exchanged, which considerably limits operations and creates difficulties in mutual accounting, making them almost impossible.

However, one cannot immediately introduce the principle of currency exchange. Why? Because previously currencies of various countries were backed by gold; in other words, the amount of money in circulation was safeguarded by gold held by the state treasury. By the end of the fifties the principle of currency exchange into gold had been eliminated in all countries, and now currencies have the so-called backing by goods. This means that the amount of money should be comparable to the quantity of goods produced, and only those in demand.

Thus, it is clear that the principle of currency exchange should be introduced gradually, as the shortage of high-quality goods is being reduced. Thus we have come to the second important condition for setting up the common market—mutual exchange of national currencies and the transferable ruble between each other and into exchange currencies. Is anything being done toward this end? Naturally, yes; individual countries, as an experiment, are introducing a partial exchange of national currencies.

At present this is only on a narrow scale, as accounting between enterprises which maintain direct contacts and operations in joint enterprises.

Three states—Bulgaria, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia—have already signed bilateral agreements concerning mutual accounting in national currencies. In this way the lev, ruble, and korona, within the framework of direct contacts, have become objects of exchange. True, this exchange is also of a bilateral character—ruble-korona, ruble-lev, and lev-korona. Nevertheless even this is a step forward.

Other countries of the socialist community have joined the experiment, and I think that before 1990 we will have results. However, the mutual exchange of currencies, writes Sergey Ugarov, is not all that is necessary for the common market. As individual countries become ready, other elements of cooperation should appear. Thus, instead of an obligatory contingent of goods within the framework of mutual trade turnover, contingents based on the principle of value should be more widely used. This indicates that in this case it is not the quantity of goods that is rationed but the quality of mutual deliveries which ensures greater chances for free movement.

We have referred to the most important conditions necessary for the creation of a common market among CEMA countries, Sergey Ugarov said in conclusion. It is clear that it is impossible to create such a market immediately. At present it is a long-term objective that is part of a political decision by nine countries. Their readiness to set up a common market will depend not on calendar years but on the gradual creation of appropriate conditions.

Gerasimov Briefs Press 15 November

Announces Gorbachev Visits

LD1511150088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1435 GMT 15 Nov 88

["Urgent. On Mikhail Gorbachev's Forthcoming Visits"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 15 November (TASS)—At the invitation of Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Council of State and Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, will visit the Repubic of Cuba on an official friendly visit in the first half of December. This was announced today here at a briefing by Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

Touching on yesterday's address by Margaret Thatcher, prime minister of Great Britain, in which she said that Mikhail Gorbachev would be visiting Britain on an official visit, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman officially confirmed this report.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman also announced that Mikhail Gorbachev would address a plenary meeting of the UN General Assembly session in New York.

Reads Statement on Kabul Attack

LD1511155488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1515 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, 15 Nov (TASS)—Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, read the following statement of a representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry at a briefing here today:

On Sunday, 13 November, a civil aircraft was taking off from Kabul airport when the airport was subjected to an intense missile attack, clearly intended to destroy this aircraft. The aircraft was not damaged, but several Soviet servicemen were casualties: 10 were killed and 11 wounded. The attackers were subjected to return fire.

This is not the first attack on the airport. Missile attacks on Kabul began long ago, and peaceful citizens are the victims.

There is no doubt that the irreconcilable Afghan opposition would not risk these provocative criminal acts if it did not enjoy direct support from abroad. Their weapons were put in their hands by their sponsors. These acts by the opposition have been made possible by Pakistan's ignoring of its obligations under the Geneva agreements and by the effective connivance of one of the guarantors of the agreements—the United States.

The Soviet Government sincerely desires the establishment of peace on the long-suffering soil of Afghanistan and supports the policy of national reconciliation. Our forces are departing, but they cannot remain indifferent to such acts. Nor can we tolerate Soviet people being killed as a result of these acts. The rebuff will be most resolute.

Considering the exceptionally serious consequences to which such actions of the Afghan opposition could lead, and are already leading, we hope that the United States and Pakistan will use their influence to prevent the Peshawar opposition from continuing such acts of banditry, which only prolong the sufferings of their own people, prolong the war, and delay the return of life in Afghanistan to its normal course.

Comments on Relations With UK

LD1511161288 Moscow TASS in English 1555 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 15 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming official visit to Great Britain is connected with the development of the world situation, of East-West relations, Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry told a briefing here today.

It is hoped in the Soviet Union that this visit will give a strong political impetus to the development of a Soviet-British political dialogue, he said. The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman noted that since the Moscow summit in March-April 1987, the Soviet Union and Great Britain have covered a considerable road toward each other in defining the areas of possible interaction on a wide range of international problems and new approaches in the area of bilateral relations.

At the same time, the positive changes in the Soviet-British political dialogue cannot eclipse the fact that considerable differences, also fundamental ones, remain in the stands of the two countries. He mentioned as an example the British leadership's adherence to the concept of "nuclear deterrence". It can be expected that the complex of disarmament problems in their conceptual and practical aspects will hold the priority place at the talks in London, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Gennadiy Gerasimov emphasized that positive interaction of the USSR and Great Britain in political settlement of regional conflicts, above all in the United Nations framework, is noted with satisfaction in the Soviet Union. He said it would be justifiable to predict that during the visit the leaders of the two countries will discuss thoroughly the situation in "hot spots" of the world.

The results achieved in the area of bilateral, commercial, economic, scientific, technical and humanitarian cooperation attest to the viability and potential of Soviet-British relations will be confirmed during the forthcoming visit, Gennadiy Gerasimov said.

On Visits, PNC Session

LD1511174588 Moscow TASS in English 1707 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 15 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Presidium, will go to Cuba for an official friendly visit in the first half of December at the invitation of Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, chairman of the State Council and Council of Ministers of Cuba. This was divulged at a briefing here today by Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate.

He confirmed that Mikhail Gorbachev would pay an official visit to Britain and would address a plenary meeting of the United Nations General Assembly session in New York.

Replying to questions, Gerasimov said that the possibility of Mikhail Gorbachev meeting with Ronald Reagan and George Bush in New York could not be ruled out. The spokesman said, however, that it was premature to speak of their probable content. He noted that conclusion of agreements could hardly be expected during these meetings, but the latter would fit neatly the continuation of the Soviet-American political dialogue, which, as believed both by the Soviet and the American sides, should be carried on without artificial breaks.

Meeting the requests of pressmen, Gerasimov commented on the proclamation of an independent Palestinian state by the Algiers session of the Palestine National Council [PNC[. He said that the Soviet Union had always backed the 242 and 338 resolutions of the U.N. Security Council, believing that they were a solid foundation for a Middle East settlement, had always emphasised the need of recognizing the legitimate right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination. That is why, Gerasimov stressed, the Soviet Union welcomes the National Council's decision to approve the foregoing resolutions. As to the Soviet Union's recognition of the Palestinian state, whose formation has been announced, the Palestinian side has not approached the USSR with such a request.

The head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate noted that flights of the Franco-West German "Euroberlin France" air company between West Berlin and the FRG via Berlin air corridors, intended for the needs of the USSR, USA, Britain and France—was an obvious violation by the French authorities of the quadripartite agreement of September 3, 1971. He recalled that the parties to that agreement had assumed a commitment not to alter unilaterally the existing status quo. The Soviet side had twice—in July and September—served official warning to the French side, saying that her step would aggravate the situation around civilian air communications with West Berlin, which is complicated as it is. The entire responsibility for any negative consequences of these illegal flights rests with their initiators.

Gennadiy Gerasimov stressed further that the enactment in South Africa of legislations, establishing places of residence for different races, confirms the RSA authorities intention to perpetuate the country's anti-democratic regime. This step is merely liable to complicate a political settlement aimed at creating a democratic raceless state in the Republic of South Africa, which would meet the interests of all groups of the South African population, including the white minority.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman denied Western media reports that chemical weapons were allegedly used during recent operations of the Afghan Army and that the latter were helped by Soviet paratroopers. He said that neither the limited Soviet Army contingent nor the Afghan Army had any chemical weapons at their disposal, while the mentioned operations were carried out by Afghan troops alone.

CEMA-EEC Discussions Open in Brussels

LD1511124788 Moscow TASS in English 1212 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Brussels November 15 TASS—Consultations between representatives of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the European Economic Community opened here today.

They will discuss prospects of developing relations between the two major international economic organizations following the signing in June this year of the joint declaration on establishing official relations between them.

Attempt To Divide U.S., W. Europe Denied

LD1111044088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2300 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Station Commentary by Viktor Levin]

[Text] The thesis persistently repeated by the U.S. secretary of defense is not remarkably original. This is not the first year the Americans have talked of Soviet attempts to drive a wedge between the United States and Western Europe. However, lately this talk has obviously become more intense. This makes us analyze even more carefully the situation in which the United States is developing the thesis about the dangerous—so it believes—actions of the USSR.

The first thing that attracts attention is the fact that they began talking especially loudly about the USSR's subversive intentions soon after the 12 EC countries decided to establish a single European market by 1992. Formally, U.S. politicians have been trying to substantiate their allegations with the USSR's proposal to convene a European Reykjavik—a meeting of heads of states and governments of the continent to consider fundamental questions concerning reduction in armed forces and armaments.

When this idea was first expressed, the USSR proceeded from the position that all states that signed the CSCE Final Act could take part in this conference. In the United States, they tried to allege that the USSR intended to exclude it from the conference.

However, even after the USSR confirmed in plain terms that it also meant for both the United States and Canada to take part in such a conference, claims about efforts at division have not stopped. This has shown that the question of a European Reykjavik serves as nothing more than a pretext. The reason for this, as I have already said, is the intention of the 12 countries of the Common Market to create a single European market—something which even today brings American business circles into a state of near shock.

Of course the United States cannot speak directly against these ideas. This is why they are looking for roundabout ways to strengthen the bonds which attach West Europe to the United States. It is indicative that in his speech to the participants of the international investors conference, Carlucci said that even if the USSR succeeds in implementing restructuring, he does not think that this is unambiguously in the interests of the West. One can discern behind this thesis the appeal to West Europe not to hurry too quickly to develop relations with the USSR, and especially not to hurry to provide our country with credit, something which has lately been causing frank criticism in the United States. Juxtaposing these theses confirms that behind the allegations about USSR subversive actions, can be found the fear of the United States that it will lose its own solid position in West Europe.

Moscow Conference on Humanitarian Problems

LD1411220588 Moscow TASS in English 1543 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 14 TASS—"As priority an importance should be attached to the solution of humanitarian issues in the modern world as to political and economic problems and to the efforts to promote international security". This is the main conclusion of the international round-table, that drew to an end in Moscow, as formulated by Sadruddin Aga Khan (Iran), a co-chairman of the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues. The round-table conference on the theme "Ethnics of Human Solidarity and Humanitarian Problems in the Nuclear Age" involved apart from members of the commission also prominent representatives of the Soviet public.

Addressing a final news conference here today, Sadruddin Aga Khan underscored the need to humanize the approaches to handling such problems as removing the nuclear war menace, averting an ecological catastrophe, combatting poverty and diseases. A constructive dialogue to involve various public forces of our time will serve to eliminate these "time bombs", he stressed.

The human rights area was politicized too much until recently, speakers at the news conference noted. Aleksandr Sukharev, president of the Soviet Lawyers' Association, holds that perestroyka (restructuring) is likewise necessary in this sphere with account of the experience gained by world civilization and using new mode of thinking.

The process to civilize human relations went under way back four decades ago when the universal declaration of human rights was adopted, participants in the round-table hold. They believe that further to develop this document, it would be expedient to work out a charter of international solidarity and a universal declaration of humanitarian principles of national and international policy.

"The meeting in Moscow was exceptionally useful and interesting", Sadruddin Aga Khan said in conclusion. "It will serve further to promote cooperation on humanitarian issues which are the cause of concern for the whole of mankind".

Petrovskiy Greets Nuclear-Free World Conference

LD1511111088 Moscow TASS in English 1735 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Text] New Delhi November 14 TASS—TASS correspondent Mikhail Kapustin reports:

A three-day international conference "Towards a Nuclear-Free and Non-Violent World" has opened here today. It is attended by over 100 delegates from almost thirty countries of the world, including India, USSR, USA, China, Britain, Sweden, Nigeria and Australia. Present also are numerous representatives of the international peace movement. This conference marks the beginning of celebrations devoted to the 100th birth anniversary of Jawaharlal Nehru, the outstanding Indian statesman and political leader, the country's first prime minister.

We are now at a new stage of the development of the international situation, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi said in his statement. He noted that the beginning for these positive changes was laid by the Delhi declaration on principles of a nuclear-free and non-violent world, adopted two years ago. The Soviet-American INF agreement was signed a year later, setting the first example of nuclear disarmament, the Indian leader stressed.

He said that prevalent throughout the world now is the new mode of thinking, new approaches, attempts to reach mutual understanding. The world-wide trend towards unity of economic interests, political cooperation and peaceful coexistence is bound to make the world a single family where the rights of every member will, of course, be equally recognized and respected, the Indian leader continued.

Rajiv Gandhi stressed that nuclear weapons should be outlawed and the nuclear disarmament process should be corroborated by such measures as general and complete prohibition of nuclear tests, prevention of the arms race from being extended into outer space and denunciation of the use of latest scientific and technological achievements for mankind's annihilation.

Rajiv Gandhi went on record for the establishment of a new international order on our planet, based on principles of universal peace and security, broad international economic cooperation and global efforts to safeguard the environment.

Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, conveyed greetings to the conference from Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The deputy minister noted that an historical parallel could apparently be drawn between Jawaharlal Nehru's denunciation of the use of force in international relations, his policy of resolving disputed issues through negotiations and reasonable compromises, and the new political thinking that proceeds from the priority of universal human values, from the need of solving all international problems by political means, on the basis of balanced interests.

The speeches of conference participants were clearly keynoted by the idea that it is necessary to step up the worldwide struggle for peace and disarmament, for the elimination of the nuclear menace, establishment of international relations based on equality, humanism and justice.

UN Committee Adopts Disarmament Resolutions

LD1111104188 Moscow TASS in English 0933 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] New York November 11 TASS—TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshev reports:

The first committee (political, security, including disarmament) has entered the most crucial stage of work at the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly: decision-making on the entire range of disarmament issues.

On Thursday the delegates to the committee endorsed the first eleven draft resolutions on matters concerning disarmament. The draft resolutions in the form of the first committee's recommendations will be referred to the General Assembly for consideration at a plenary session.

Eight of the draft resolutions were adopted without voting, which is a sign of accord within the international community. These include documents on a ban on the deployment of nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction on the seabed and ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof, on the proclamation of the 1990s to be the third disarmament decade, on a ban or restrictions on the use of such types of conventional weapons that may be deemed to be excessively injurious.

The delegates to the session reaffirmed the role of the UNO as an indispensable instrument for promoting international peace and security, taking into consideration the results of the U.N. General Assembly's third special session on disarmament, the session which was held last summer.

One of the documents emphasizes the need to implement the declaration announcing the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, the declaration which was adopted as far back as in 1971. In this connection the delegates to the first committee went on record for more active preparation for a conference on the Indian Ocean so as to make it possible to convene it in Colombo in 1990.

At the same time there still were opponents to one of the draft resolutions adopted by consensus. The United States pointedly declined to participate in adopting a decision on the draft resolution, sponsored by the delegations of the Nonaligned Movement, on interrelationship between disarmament and development. A U.S. representative stated that his country did not recognize the U.N. resolutions on this issue, thereby counterposing his point of view to accord within the entire international community.

The U.S. delegation was at the head of a small group of Western countries which opposed yet another three draft resolutions which were put to the vote and which got an overwhelming support in the first committee. Specifically, that group of Western countries voted against the majority opinion about the need to conclude effective international agreements on strengthening the security of non-nuclear states, against the use or a threat of the use of nuclear weapons, and abstained from voting on the draft resolution on the climatic aftermath of nuclear war, including "nuclear winter".

Chemical Complex Planned With Western Group

LD1111233188 Moscow TASS in English 1704 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 11 TASS—The Soviet Ministry of the Chemical Industry today signed an agreement of intention with a consortium of Western firms to build a major chemical complex in western Siberia.

Located in the area of Nizhnevartovsk, the joint venture will include 15 factories producing structural and polymer materials.

The agreement was signed here by Soviet Chemical Industry Minister Yuriy Bespalov and Takeshi Egyshi, managing director of the Japanese Mitsubishi Corporation which leads the consortium.

The complex, to be completed by the year 2000, is estimated at a total of five billion roubles.

Based on oil fields around Nizhnevartovsk, it will feature ecologically safe and highly automated facilities capable of producing up to one million tons of chemical products a year.

These will find uses in the space, aircraft-building, auto, electrical engineering and many other industries.

The Soviet ministry has chosen the consortium for the project after finding its proposals better than the bids of other firms.

The partners are now to work out by the end of next March a feasibility study for building the complex.

'Review' on U.S. Election, Afghanistan, Israel

PM1511111588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[Yuriy Glukhov "International Review": "The World This Week"]

[Text] Last week passed under the sign of the October celebrations. Socialist countries, all progressive mankind, and our friends throughout the world joined with us in broadly celebrating the 71st anniversary of October. The congratulations telegrams received by the Soviet leadership make a high assessment of this very great event in the history of mankind, this global turning point in the destiny of the planet.

For all their significance, these days did not bear the imprint of an unctuous jubilee in our country. They were symbolized by the restructuring under way in the country, which is the direct continuation of the socialist choice made by our people in October 1917.

Restructuring and the new political thinking are having a beneficial effect on the international climate. World politics is reaching a point where not only is it faced with the task of ensuring mankind's survival;the possibility of jointly considering—while respecting freedom of choice and balance of interests—the building of a nuclear-free and nonviolent world is also arising.

It is in this context that the world public greeted the announcement of M.S. Gorbachev's upcoming visit to India, that great Asian country with which we are linked by traditionally friendly ties. As is well known, the ideas of a nuclear-free and nonviolent world are embodied in the Delhi declaration signed by the leaders of the two states in November 1986.

It is from this standpoint that people in Moscow regard the further development of relations with the United States. The presidential election was held there 8 November. Republican G. Bush, the incumbent vice president, became the new, 41st president.

M.S. Gorbachev's congratulations telegram expressed hope for the further development of stable and predictable USSR-U.S. relations and for the improvement of the entire international situation. For its part, the Soviet Union is prepared to continue and deepen mutually advantageous Soviet-U.S. cooperation on the broadest range of questions. Broadening constructive USSR-U.S. cooperation would accord with the interests both of our peoples and of the entire world community.

For instance, this cooperation could be exceptionally useful in eliminating seats of tension and in solving regional conflicts. Efforts in this direction are assuming ever-increasing scope.

Model for Settlement

It is well known what international reaction was evoked by the signing of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan. They were immediately described as a model for the settlement of the most complex regional problems. The UN General Assembly recently adopted a resolution on a consensus basis that once again expressed support for the aforementioned agreements and called for them to be strictly respected and conscientiously fulfilled. Presenting this resolution, Dante Caputo, Argentine minister of foreign affairs and worship, noted that the agreements are practical confirmation of the aims and principles enshrined in the UN Charter. They represent a balanced complex of pledges by the sides, and their implementation will open the way for an all-embracing political settlement through the start of dialogue among all Afghans and the creation of a broad representative government.

The agreements are of worldwide significance, he continued, since they promote the encouraging tendency to settle international disagreements through talks. Thus the agreements of 14 April 1988 began a positive process which is now spreading to other important regional conflicts and which has considerably changed and improved the overall situation, in which disagreements and conflicts traditionally dominated.

This attitude and this lofty assessment would seem to impose great obligations on the international community. Primarily to preserve and consolidate what has already been achieved, not to mention the elementary rule whereby adopted pledges must be observed. However, parties to the Geneva accords—the United States and Pakistan—have embarked on the path of flagrantly violating them. Vast consignments of weapons, including the most modern ones—"Stinger" and "Blowpipe" antiaircraft missiles, "Milan" antitank missiles, "surface-to-surface" missiles, long-range guns, mortars, and modern communications systems—continue to flood into Afghanistan from Pakistani territory. These weapons are used for barbaric bombardment of population centers, including Kabul. There are frequent cases of open, armed aggression by Pakistan. Islamabad is impeding the Afghan refugees' return home. The United States, which is a guarantor of the Geneva agreements, is continuing to send weapons and military instructors to Afghanistan. The White House has once again just received the leaders of the diehard opposition.

National dialogue in Afghanistan and the national reconciliation process are threatened with disruption. Moreover, the United States and Pakistan are acting on such a scale and provoking such a situation that the timetable for the fulfillment of the Geneva agreements may be completely wrecked, and effective retaliatory defensive measures may be required from Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. Such steps were taken recently.

It is strange that people in Washington hope to find a justification for their obstructionist approach. Americans made spur-of-the-moment provisos in Geneva regarding "symmetry," evidently in the belief that they would thus be able to give themselves carte blanche for arms shipments to the rebels and for interference in Afghanistan's affairs. "This statement," the reputable journal FOREIGN AFFAIRS notes, "looks like a contradiction of the guarantees that were signed."

If we are really talking about symmetry, then why is it not extended to peace initiatives? Kabul asked the UN Security Council to urgently examine the fulfillment of the Geneva agreements and proposed the convocation of an international conference on Afghanistan to study the question of granting the state guarantees of its neutral status and the country's demilitarization, holding a meeting with opposition leaders, and so on. The world is awaiting countersteps from the United States and Pakistan and from those whom they are encouraging. This is an area where there is unlimited scope for "symmetry." The impetus that was created by the conclusion of the Geneva agreements must not be wasted.

I can only agree with RENMIN RIBAO's opinion: "In today's world, all hot spots are interlinked. A political solution of the question in one hot spot will promote a political solution in the others. The signing of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan this April brought down the heat in other hot spots."

Let me point out by way of an example the quest for a peaceful settlement of the Cambodia situation at the meeting between Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers and foreign minister, and the leaders of two opposition groupings—Prince Norodom Sihanouk and Son Sann—which ended on 8 November. The participants in the talks reached agreement on convening an international conference on Cambodia.

The latest consultative meeting between delegations from Cuba, Angola, the RSA, and the United States opened 11 November in Geneva. Here it is a question of normalizing the situation in southwest Africa. A Soviet observer is present at the meeting.

Finding a Compromise

It is easiest of all to be pessimistic when it comes to the settlement of such a conflict as the Iran-Iraq war. It has been under way for 8 years now at the cost of more than 1 million lives. Under these conditions the very fact of a cease-fire and the continuation of talks between Baghdad and Tehran with UN mediation inspires optimism, for the cruel and senseless bloodshed has been halted. Suffice it to recall the "war of the cities," the living waves rolling over the minefields, the "tanker war" that disrupted shipping in the Persian Gulf, and the instances of the use of chemical weapons. The ground has been pulled out from beneath any attempts to justify the imperialist states' military presence in the region and their flagrant interference in other countries' affairs. Finally, the first accords between Tehran and Baghdad were reached this week—on exchanging sick and wounded servicemen.

However, on the whole the combatant sides are still not meeting one another halfway on key questions. Iran considers the Algerian agreements of 1975 signed by the shah and Saddam Huseyn to be valid. They provided, in particular, for the border line to pass along the thalweg (middle) of the Shatt al-'Arab waterway. Prior to this the border passed along the Iranian bank. However, the Algerian agreements were denounced by Baghdad on 17 September 1980.

Iraq is pressing for freedom of navigation and for clearing the waters of the Shatt al-'Arab and the Persian Gulf for navigation (there are still 64 merchant ships and tankers submerged or semisubmerged there). Iran states that it will not do this until Iraqi troops have been withdrawn from Iranian territory. Tehran considers that it is entitled to inspect Iraqi vessels in the Strait of Hormuz prior to the troop withdrawal.

One thing is clear: Talks must not turn into score-settling between the conflicting sides and a playing out of the war. There are no victors in the Iran-Iraq conflict. Both sides have lost; they have incurred colossal losses, been retarded in their development, and burdened with debts. Everyone—both the Iraqi and Iranian peoples and the world community—would gain from a sensible and worthy compromise and from the speediest attainment of peace.

Danger of Complications

Despite all the movement that has been achieved, perhaps the most stagnant situation can be observed in the Near East.

On 9 November the world public marked with a sense of shame and sorrow the 50th anniversary of the Jewish pogroms in Nazi Germany that began the genocide and mass annihilation of the Jews. They have gone down in history as the "Reichskristallnacht" or the night of the pogroms. As if mocking the memory of the past, Israeli soldiers organized pogroms on 9 November in the occupied Palestinian territories. That day there was a general strike by Palestinians. It was the start of the 12th month of the uprising, and powerful punitive forces were sent in to suppress it. The Palestinians, who have risen in struggle, are denied their right to self-determination and the creation of their own state; they are denied their right to a homeland and even to existence. However, the Palestinian problem is the core of the Arab-Israeli conflict—the detonator of the explosive situation that persists here.

I must say that the recent elections to the Israeli Knesset (parliament) did not simplify but rather complicated the situation. Serious dilemmas arose in Israel itself. As is well known, the elections demonstrated the former balance between the right-wing "Likud" bloc and the centrist Labor Party (40 and 39 seats respectively). A crucial role in forming a government will be played by the question of whose side the religious and right-wing extremist parties, which have strengthened their positions, come down on. The sympathies and calculations of these parties are more on the side of "Likud." But this "love match for mutual convenience" terrifies ordinary Israelis. They are alarmed by a new version of fundamentalism, this time Israeli-style. "The elections have catapulted Israel back into the middle ages," Shulamit Aloni, leader of the "Civil Rights Movement," stated.

Concessions to religious extremists would mean raging obscurantism, for instance, the prohibition of entertainment, including soccer or movies, on Friday evenings and Saturdays, the effective refusal to acknowledge most American Jews as "full-fledged" Jews, and so on.

In the foreign policy sphere the alliance of rightists threatens even more dangerous consequences. "Likud's" possible allies—extreme right-wing "Tehiya" and "Tzomet" (three and two seats respectively) demand the annexation of the occupied West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip and the construction there of another 53 settlements. The newly created extremist "Moledet" (two seats) calls for the deportation of all Arabs from the occupied territories. "Likud" itself actively opposes the convocation of an international peace conference on a Near East settlement.

Citing Israeli sources, Tunisia's TAP reports that the "Likud" bloc has elaborated a plan for containing the uprising on the occupied territories. It provides for the destruction of most of the Palestinian camps and for herding Palestinians into reservations.

It is quite clear that the existence of such plans is fraught with serious consequences. The international community now needs to warn Tel Aviv against possible adventures. It is time for the United States and its NATO allies to abandon their double standards in their approach to human rights violations, whereby the Israeli occupiers' flagrant lawlessness on the Arab territories goes unnoticed.

Even a fleeting survey of the situation in the "hot spots" shows how vitally necessary it is for the health of the planet and all mankind to remove these bleeding sores. The Soviet Union is doing everything in its power to bring this nearer.

Post-Revolution World Development Viewed

PM1411102388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Nov 88 First Edition p 3

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer Lieutenant Colonel V. Markushin "Military-Political Review": "Command of the Epoch"]

[Text] The anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. No other day compels us as this one does to focus on the nature of what is indisputably the main event of the 20th century—the Great October Socialist Revolution. What has our revolution given to mankind? There is no short answer to this question. But we still turn our gaze first and foremost to Lenin's concept of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. This is because it raised the problems of human society in a new way, defining an issue of vital importance: At the historic stage of the transition from capitalism to socialism, two opposite formations are obliged to get along together and to cooperate. Now, evaluating this concept from the standpoint of the nuclear age, we are beginning to really understand just how revolutionary and common to all mankind it is. And also how universal it is as far as international relations are concerned; this was pointed out in the report at the ceremonial session in the Kremlin dedicated to the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The idea of the priority of human values is unquestionably one of man's most important theoretical acquisitions. It is the fruit of reflection by more than a generation of brilliant minds. But today this idea has gained practical meaning and become a current issue. Does it contradict other fundamental philosophical conclusions and does it negate, for example, the thesis of the antagonistic nature of relations between capitalism and socialism? No. This antagonism has existed and still exists. It is an objective law which exists independent of anyone's will. The fact of the matter is that socialism is not an alternative to capitalism, is not just one of the roads along which mankind may travel or not. Socialism is a qualitatively new level of development in human society in comparison with capitalism. The transition to it cannot be painless: It has engendered a confrontation which continues to this very day. But now this confrontation must not employ military means. Resorting to these means would be tantamount to ending life on earth.

That is why the CPSU does not regard the new political thinking as an improvised mind game but as the result of serious deliberations on the destiny of civilization on earth. This approach ensures the Soviet leadership's foreign policy course nationwide support in our country and broad popularity abroad.

We can see the results produced by the restructuring of Soviet foreign policy, and we can sense its contribution to an improvement in the international climate. This is primarily apparent in the fact that we have managed to push back the threat of war through joint efforts. A special place belongs to the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. It came into force this year, after the Moscow summit meeting, and is now being put into practice, thereby becoming the first act of coordinated, mutual elimination of arms by the two rival powers in history.

The process of a political settlement of the situation surrounding Afghanistan has begun. The Geneva agreements on Afghanistan can, with full justification, be considered the first link in the general chain of solving regional problems. Unfortunately, peace has yet to come to this long-suffering country. Certain influential forces in the West—primarily in the United States and Pakistan—are more suited by a continuation of the senseless, fratricidal war.

Appreciable progress has been made on the European salient of Soviet foreign policy, to which the USSR has always attached paramount significance. This is apparent in its more active dialogue with Italy, the FRG, France, and other countries. It is evidence that the idea of a common European home is finding an increasing number of supporters, including figures who think in different political terms than ourselves.

New contacts are being established in the military sphere and, what is particularly important, at the level of top military leaders. Army General D.T. Yazov, USSR defense minister, has had meetings with the defense ministers of the United States and the FRG, which are members of the North Atlantic bloc.

These are all gratifying signs of the beginning of a qualitatively new phase in East-West relations. But at the same time we must not forget other, less pleasant aspects. Progress toward a safe, stable world could advance further if it were not for the inertia of ideological and military confrontation, which is increased in every way possible by the braking mechanism of arms production. The military industry's influence on policy is still a decisive factor in NATO countries. It is here that one should look for the fundamental reason why this year, now drawing to an end, has not been marked by such perfectly plausible events as:

—the completion of work on a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons;

—the achievement of an agreement barring the way to offensive weapons in space;

—the signing of a universal convention to completely ban and eliminate chemical weapons;

—the start of negotiations between NATO and the Warsaw Pact on reducing their armed forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals in order to achieve a situation where both blocs would retain forces sufficient for defense but insufficient for a surprise attack and the conducting of offensive operations.

The mandate of these talks is now being drafted in Vienna. Logic suggests how this process must develop in the future: A concerted assessment of the forces present on both sides must be reached, the imbalance eliminated, and, finally, an even reduction of remaining potentials begun. This is a difficult process, of course. But precisely for this reason the Soviet leadership's idea of a "European Reykjavik"—a summit meeting of representatives of the European states, the United States, and Canada which could lend powerful impetus to the talks—deserves special attention. The session of the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Committee held in Budapest 28-29 October also spoke in favor of implementing this idea.

Most unfortunately, instead of suggesting their own proposals on this score in a businesslike manner and on an appropriate professional level, leading NATO military-political circles keep introducing futile talk about the Warsaw Pact's "overwhelming superiority" in conventional weapons. This theory, we must point out, was also mentioned in the speech by FRG Chancellor H. Kohl during his recent visit to Moscow. In fact, he urged the Soviet Union to unilaterally disarm, claiming in this respect that the Atlantic alliance has only a strictly defensive potential that supposedly would not allow the implementation of large-scale offensive operations.

The NATO bloc is also stubbornly demonstrating its commitment to the idea of preserving nuclear weapons as a deterrent. The final communique of the Nuclear Planning Group, which sat in session in the Hague at the end of October, notes that "NATO nuclear forces will continue to be a solid, effective contribution to the strategy of deterrence" and that "in the foreseeable future NATO will need nuclear forces of many different ranges in Europe." In other words, the British newspaper THE GUARDIAN wrote, the possibility of eliminating short-range nuclear systems is rejected.

Quoting a speech by U.S. Secretary of Defense F. Carlucci, this same newspaper reported that the United States will soon begin implementing its arms modernization program. In particular, it is a question of producing a new launch installation for the missile that is to replace the "Lance" missile and also a new aviation missile which will be launched from aircraft beyond the range of the enemy's air defense system and replace freefall bombs. In addition to this, it has been reported that "other options" include stationing an additional number of F-111 bombers in Britain and placing submarines with cruise missiles on board under the jurisdiction of General J. Galvin, supreme commander of NATO Allied Forces in Europe.

How is one to explain the obvious gap between Western political leaders' generally declared desire for detente and their actual steps toward its materialization? The force of inertia in obsolete political thinking based on dangerous ideas of confrontation is strong here. True, the West tries to give this a different interpretation. It seems that it all comes down to the nature of the changes taking place in the Soviet Union, which are supposedly "experimental," as a result of which, they say, it is still uncertain what will come out of these changes. An example of this kind of argument is to be found in recent statements by British Prime Minister M. Thatcher which, according to the newspaper THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, show that "England is putting on the brakes." Official London is inclined to think that, while being an "era of great change," restructuring is also an "era of great uncertainty." That is why it is urging its allies in the North Atlantic bloc to demonstrate "unity and single-mindedness" and not to venture any "unwarranted concessions" at the negotiating table.

Some other Western leaders have also felt it necessary to express similar opinions, such as NATO General Secretary M. Woerner, who doubts that the "Gorbachev line" will remain unchanged. And it is the belief of General J. Galvin, which he expressed last week, that the West's general military concept must still proceed from the persisting military threat from the Soviet Union, whose restructuring process has allegedly left the military sphere untouched.

At this point I feel it is quite appropriate to quote a fair observation by the Belgian newspaper LA WALLONIE. In its opinion, holding onto old notions is now tantamount to "forgetting all the changes that have taken place, all the revolutionary transformations, and the evolution of relations between East and West."

Meanwhile, these changes are adhered to by an increasingly broad public in Western countries. It must be said that a sober, objective view of Soviet foreign policy is becoming an increasingly noteworthy factor in the West. It is enough to look at the results of some public opinion polls to be convinced of this. One of them, taken by FRG television last month, shows, for example, that eight out of ten West Germans do not believe in the existence of a Soviet "military threat." At the same time they think that the improvement in relations between their country and the Soviet Union has been made possible as a result of the new course taken by the Soviet leadership.

The West Germans who express this view can hardly be ranked as communist sympathizers, but the fact that their view is based on common sense is beyond question. This is possibly the most encouraging trend in the political development of our time—the move by the broad masses of working people in the direction of healthy moral principles and their efforts to influence politics, mainly in favor of its demilitarization.

That is the distinguishing feature of the era begun by the October revolution, which has made it possible for people to interfere in the questions of war and peace and play a conscious role in the struggle to ensure that the human race escapes destruction, survives, and continues.

United States & Canada

White House Welcomes Upcoming Gorbachev Visit

LD1511213788 Moscow TASS in English 2116 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Washington November 15 TASS—The White House welcomed the coming visit to the United States by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and his meeting with President Reagan and President-elect George Bush.

The White House spokesman confirmed that Gorbachev would meet Reagan and Bush in New York where he would come to address the session of the U.N. General Assembly. The meeting would be "kind of a cordial visit, not a summit in any sense of the word", which reflects friendship between the leaders and historical changes taking place in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, pointed out the White House spokesman. He noted that the prospective meeting would demonstrate continued constructive relations whose development was promoted by the four previous Soviet-American summits.

The White House spokesman said that the sides at the New York meeting would discuss questions of continuity in Soviet-American relations and their further development under the new administration which would come into office on next January 20.

Zorin Interviews Secretary of State Shultz

LD1611002788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1545 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Interview with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz with special correspondent Valentin Zorin at the State Department in Washington, D.C., date not given—recorded; Shultz speaks in English with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] [Zorin] The State Department is the U.S. equivalent of what is called the foreign ministry in other countries. It is in this building, situated in the center of Washington, that the many threads of administration in the country's foreign policy come together. The heads of U.S. diplomacy—the secretary of state, his deputies and assistants—enjoy the style of well appointed offices on the seventh floor. There is a typical formula in the U.S. political lexicon—on the seventh floor they do the thinking and everything is decided, and everyone realizes that one is talking about the opinions and decisions of the heads of U.S. foreign policy.

This week, immediately following the national general elections, in one of the reception rooms on the seventh floor, special Soviet television correspondents were received by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. [video shows exterior and interior of State Department building]

Mr Shultz, I don't think you will be surprised if I start our interview with a question that particularly interests Soviet viewers. In connection with the forthcoming change in the Washington administration, will there, in your opinion, be continuity in U.S. policy in the field of Soviet-U.S. relations?

[Shultz] Yes, I am sure there will be continuity. That's not just my personal opinion. Listen to what President-elect Bush said when he was vice president of the United States, during the election campaign, and now, when he has been elected president. He spoke specifically about continuity and specifically singled out questions, a solution to which he wants to work out together with the Soviet leaders.

Mr Bush took an active part in working out a common approach by the Reagan administration to this problem, or rather an approach to it by the Reagan-Bush administration. Suffice to recall the official meeting between the Soviet and U.S. delegations in 1985 in which General Secretary Gorbachev and U.S. Vice President Bush took part. I remember that well; I also took part in that meeting. We spent about 1-1/2 hours or even more together, and the interesting thing is that many questions that have become further developed in Soviet-U.S. relations were raised at that very meeting in 1985. For example, Mr Gorbachev made a proposal at that time concerning working out approaches to solving problems on human rights. The U.S. vice president replied—and this was a good idea—let's work on this. Things won't happen all at once; we'll have to do a lot of work. But when Mr Gorbachev made that proposal, we continued the joint discussion, and an exchange of opinions and respectful attitudes to each other's point of view emerged. This led to considerable success, and we have been able to achieve a great deal together. The same thing can be said about many other spheres.

[Zorin] I would like to ask you a rather delicate question. The president-elect has named your successor, Mr Baker. What is the main piece of advice you would give him, if he asked you, in the field of Soviet-U.S. relations?

[Shultz] Well, my advice would be this: Listen, then carry out what President-elect Bush says. He has already laid out the basis of his agenda. He has said that he wants to work with the Soviet leaders. He stressed that he wants to conduct a well-prepared summit meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev, and it should be preceded by meetings with our friends and allies, as well as by meetings at sensible regularity with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze. So by the time the meeting between the heads of our government is held, they will be able to fill them with a content that will make this summit productive. But I believe the main thing is a realistic policy of determining the most important problems and preparing to discuss them in a serious manner. We must not be afraid to express disagreement—and in our government we have differing points of view on one question—and President Reagan and I also often argue. But it is also unnecessary to fear reaching agreement—we have issues on which we should reach agreement. We sensed this when we were witness to the fact that at the present UN General Assembly session a change took place in the general atmosphere; it became much more positive.

Why? The answer on the lips of each and every one was the same: This occurred because President Reagan and—I do not know how to put it, President Gorbachev or General Secretary Gorbachev; I will say Mr Gorbachev—set a new tone in international relations. It was not that easy for them to come to an agreement; they were both concerned about the interests of their own countries, just as they should be, but they were able to reach this by proceeding along imaginitive paths. Therefore, I would say to my successor, Mr Jim Baker: Follow your leader, listen to what he says, and if you believe in him you will not need any prompting from me. He is closer to George Bush than any other person who is not a member of Mr Bush's family. They are very close to one another, and this is a very good thing because this means that when Mr Shevardnadze meets Mr Baker, he will be talking with a man who truly will express the President's opinion exactly, and will represent him at these meetings. So this is a very sensible appointment, and knowing Jim Baker as I do and getting along well with him and having worked with him for many years, I fully support this appointment.

[Zorin] Mr Secretary, I suppose men should not pay compliments to each other, and so do not take what I want to say as a compliment. I believe that George Shultz will go down as one of the eminent diplomats of our time. Therefore, I would like to ask you now, at this stage of your career, what do you consider the greatest success in the years of your work here at the head of U.S. foreign policy, and what would you do differently now from what you did before?

[Shultz] I cannot say that this is my achievement; this has been achieved by the president and the general secretary, but of course I did a lot of work in this field, just as my friend Mr Shevardnadze did. I have in mind the profound changes that have been occurring before us in the field of Soviet-U.S. relations. They are of immense significance, and with regard purely to my contribution to this, I am very happy at this. There are quite a few other fields where changes for the better have occurred, but as far as what I would have done differently is concerned, then there are a number of things, but I will not discuss them now.

[Zorin] You are well acquainted with George Bush. What, in your opinion, is the personal imprint he will impose on U.S. foreign policy when he enters the White House?

[Shultz] He has vast experience in foreign policy. He has traveled around the world a lot, worked abroad, has been our ambassador to China, and has worked as the U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations. Generally speaking, he has considerable experience and a clear idea of the problems of the world; of glasnost, freedom, and democracy, as we can see; and of the importance to us of strengthening them throughout the world. Therefore, Mr Bush will work in this direction, and I am convinced that he also will be working on the development of Soviet-U.S. relations, taking into account their prime importance.

[Zorin] Now, a question that perhaps one may include among the almost prohibited ones: When, in your opinion, will a new Soviet-U.S. summit meeting take place?

[Shultz] To tell the truth, I do not know. A certain amount of time is required to prepare for it. Before that, it undoubtedly is important to carefully work out many things at the level of Mr Shevardnadze and Mr Baker so that the summit meeting can be productive and yield results. I do not think, as someone said with reference to President-elect Bush, that he needs a summit meeting to get acquainted with Mr Gorbachev. Bush stressed that he is already acquainted with Mr Gorbachev; they have met several times already. Both sides need a summit meeting, but we have to work out a plan for tackling problems and a realistic approach toward them. I am sure that Mr Bush will strive for this. I would not like to predict the exact time of the meeting, but I would not be surprised if direct contact between our leaders in one form or another takes place next year.

[Zorin] I think you will permit me to ask you a personal question. What are your own plans once you have completed your work in this building?

[Shultz] My home is in California, and I will go directly there. In our universities, just as—I think—in yours, there exists a tradition whereby if you are held in high repute and have the right qualities you are granted a chair. That is the tradition, and I have been promised a chair at Stanford University. I told the leaders there that I have devoted a great deal of effort to my present work. Therefore, could they not find for me, instead of a chair, a more comfortable armchair, one that no one else in the U.S. university world has had.

Seriously, however, there are many things that would be interesting for me to work on. I must sort out my papers and create an archive. I intend to write books. In general, I will pursue an active way of life, and if I can be useful to my friends, George Bush and Jim Baker, I will always be pleased to render them my assistance.

[Zorin] Will you not miss the bustle of Washington?

[Shultz] No, as they say here, I do not suffer from Washington fever. You know, 20 years have passed since I first entered government. Before that, I did exactly what I am returning to now. The life of a private citizen has its charm. There is always something with which to fill one's life; it is interesting.

[Zorin] You know, Mr Secretary, I have one big request of you. This is my fifth interview with you in just 1 and ½ years. I am very grateful to you for the respect you have shown Soviet television, and I would like to ask: Would you advise your successor, the future secretary of state, to continue this tradition?

[Shultz] I am sure that he will be glad to do this, and I can put it to him that you have always approached these interviews fairly. You have conducted these conversations skillfully, and you always have observed the mutually agreed to conditions. The conversations have been broadcast in their entirety and have not been subject to abridgement whereby my best thoughts—as we say here—would have fallen at the editor's feet. Everything always has gone out in full, and I would say to Mr Baker that you can do business with Soviet television. It is very important for a statesman that the people with whom he is dealing play a fair game.

Bush Cited on Foreign Policy 'Continuity'

PM1511163688 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Nov 88 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Continuity in Foreign Policy"]

[Text] Washington, 15 Nov—U.S. Vice President George Bush, who was elected president in the elections just held, has emphasized the continuity of his administration's foreign policy. In a talk with a group of journalists at Gulfstream (Florida), where he is on vacation, Bush said that the leaders of foreign powers can count on a continuation of the existing U.S. policy during his presidency.

Touching on Soviet-U.S. relations, Bush said that the Soviet Union should not expect his administration to be more tractable than President Reagan in the development and deployment [razrabotka i razvertyvaniye] of the "Strategic Defense Initiative." "My position on SDI has been stated," he said. "It is not changing and is not liable to change." During the election campaign Bush came out in favor of continuing the "Star Wars" program.

Speaking about Nicaragua, Bush noted that there will be no "radical change" in U.S. relations with the Nicaraguan contras and made it clear that his administration could put forward new initiatives on increasing U.S. aid to these antigovernment formations. Bush stated that he does not intend to meet with Nicaraguan President D. Ortega.

Bush stated that in the domestic policy sphere he will devote priority attention to the problem of the federal budget deficit, calling it a "matter of great urgency."

Arbatov Interviewed on U.S. Election Result

PM1511111688 Rome LA REPUBBLICA
in Italian 10 Nov 88 p 6

[Interview with Georgiy Arbatov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences United States of America and Canada Institute, by Ezio Mauro in Moscow on 9 November]

[Text] Moscow—"It's over," Georgiy Arbatov said, shaking his head and lifting his presbyopia glasses onto his forehead, after reading the agency bulletin that finally confirmed America's choice of George Bush as president. Was he referring to the end of the great and tenacious Soviet hope of a Dukakis victory, an end to Reaganism, and the Democrats' return to the White House? Not at all: "It is the end of a habit of almost 20 years, which was very convenient," Arbatov explained. "Whenever I arrived in Washington I would telephone Bush. I'm here, I would say: When can we meet? Then we would meet and chat at length. Now that he is changing post it will be more difficult to call him."

Behind Arbatov's desk in the office of director of the Soviet United States of America and Canada Institute, there is a framed souvenir photograph alongside pictures portraying him with Gorbachev, Gary Hart, and Ted Kennedy. It is a photograph of a private meeting with Bush, with a handwritten dedication from the new U.S. president. Arbatov knows Bush and his entire staff well. He explained to LA REPUBBLICA how the USSR followed the U.S. election campaign and what it expects from Bush as president.

[Mauro] Professor Arbatov, has the USSR won or lost in this U.S. election?

[Arbatov] The USSR has won at least in one respect—in its forecasts. We always believed that Bush would eventually win. We also knew that Congress would remain in the Democrats' hands. So there are no surprises.

[Mauro] A few months ago, however, your aides were ready to bet on Dukakis. Did you really never believe in the Democratic candidate?

[Arbatov] I never ruled out that he had a chance, and in recent months I watched him grow until in the summer it really did seem as though he would succeed. Then I examined him carefully and informed myself by reading and talking to people. I realized that he could not maintain his advantage until the election. I must say, however, that until 2 months ago I did expect that by the time the elections arrived I would see the two candidates more level, neck and neck at the finish. But this did not happen: When Bush started talking politics and consensus Dukakis fell behind and sank without a trace.

[Mauro] From your vantage point, what are the reasons for his failure?

[Arbatov] First and foremost, the initial success was inflated, ephemeral, lacking a solid political foundation. This does not mean that Dukakis would not have made a good president. When I examined him I perceived good qualities in him. However, it is difficult to compete with a president who embodies an economy without crises, an orderly system of international relations, disarmament negotiations that have already yielded good results, and a solid dialogue with the USSR—because in this respect Dukakis was undoubtedly competing with Reagan more than with Bush.

[Mauro] Do you too see Bush as a colorless leader with no personality or qualities?

[Arbatov] It's not that. I have known Bush well since UN days; my relations with him were cemented in Geneva, continued during our breakfasts at the White House, and developed during in-depth meetings and conversations. I can say that he is an intelligent, very experienced, cultured man, well prepared for the task that awaits him. However, preparation is not everything and qualities can change when someone changes post. The difference between number 1 and number 2 is very great—much greater than between number 2 and number 3,000.

[Mauro] Would you care to make a forecast concerning this presidency, whose features are uncertain and ill-defined?

[Arbatov] Yes, there is one thing I can say with relative certainty. In my opinion Bush will have a difficult presidency. I have in mind above all the economic difficulties and social tensions that fuelled the Jackson phenomenon, for instance. It will be an extremely complex matter for the new president to control this mixture. And in foreign policy there are problems that are already growing. Make no mistake: I am not forecasting earthquakes for the United States, and above all I do not hope for them. However, I really do believe that Bush will have a tough job, after a brief honeymoon.

[Mauro] Is the list of problems you made not the same as that which has faced Ronald Reagan in recent years?

[Arbatov] Exactly the same, but with one fundamental difference: Reagan's great popularity, which enveloped and compressed difficulties, as does Teflon, the transparent film used by housewives [as published]. With Bush the Teflon effect has disappeared, at least for the time being.

[Mauro] What does the USSR intend to do as one presidency emerges and another leadership declines?

[Arbatov] We are willing to be George Bush's honest partners. Gorbachev needs a partner, and this partner could be precisely George Bush.

[Mauro] So are you convinced that Bush will pursue the policy of dialogue?

[Arbatov] If real conditions succeeded in persuading Reagan, they will persuade Bush too. In fact I believe it will be easier for him to understand.

[Mauro] Are there good personal relations between Bush and Gorbachev?

[Arbatov] I would describe them as excellent. They first met on the sad occasion of Brezhnev's funeral. They talked at great length after Chernenko's funeral and a good mutual acquaintance and also esteem were born.

[Mauro] Is it true that the Soviet leadership class preferred a victory by the conservative Bush to one by the liberal Dukakis?

[Arbatov] There were differing opinions. However, somebody explained matters thus: The Democrats make many promises but lack the strength to honor them all, whereas the Republicans achieve more than they promise.

[Mauro] I know who that "somebody" was: Mikhail Gorbachev, who repeated the idea to Italian Prime Minister De Mita. So did the Kremlin want Bush as president?

[Arbatov] The Americans cast their votes. We calmly awaited the results.

[Mauro] In your opinion why are the Democrats unable to return to the White House?

[Arbatov] Something has happened within the party. It has lost its character, its identity. However, within the Democratic camp there are important figures who will emerge. I can name two right now: Cuomo and Bradley.

Weekly Assesses Outcome of U.S. Elections

PM1511164488 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Nov 88 p 9

[Special correspondent Lolliy Zamoyskiy report under the rubric "At the Scene": "The Victorious 'Elephant'"]

[Excerpt] Washington—[passage omitted] One could say that the intrusion of foreign policy subjects into the U.S. presidential campaign was unprecedented. Television programs regularly showed pictures of the summit meetings between the Soviet and Aemrican leaders. Speaking about the relationship between our countries, Bush at first made the customary appeal to the primacy of strength, but later made a marked shift in the direction of dialogue. An experienced politician and statesman, he sensed the mood of the Americans, who, as THE WASHINGTON POST put it, since they saw R. Reagan in Red Square and M.S. Gorbachev in the United States, "have begun to sleep rather more easily."

Bush's statements on the need to renew dialogue found their continuation in his first actions after being elected president. He began the formation of his cabinet by appointing James Baker, leader of his successful election team, to the post of secretary of state. Without waiting to take office, Bush entrusted him with preparing for a new summit meeting.

In a conversation with Scowcroft, a foreign policy adviser to Bush, I asked about the motives governing Bush's move from the postulate "peace from a position of strength" to positions of equal dialogue between the United States and the USSR. General Scowcroft (who is destined to be one of the leaders of the security council) observed: "Now that we have established ourselves in positions of strengh, we look hopefully to the prospect of talks with you. The Soviet Union, perhaps partly because of its domestic problems, needs a period of stability in relations with the United States. This opens up for us an opportunity for talks, and we should proceed along the path to talks fairly quickly and resolutely." I would like to add that for many reasons the United States is no less in need of detente and disarmament. Having a large deficit, it has an interest in reducing military spending and improving finances. As for the Americans' interest in our country, that can now be sensed everywhere. A journalist from the MINNEAPOLIS STAR newspaper came to the TASS department here to write about how Soviet journalists are covering the American elections. Carol—that is her name—had recently visited the states of Utah and Arizona, where Soviet inspectors are observing the fulfillment of the agreements on eliminating medium-range weapons. She noted that the inspectors are always surrounded by a very friendly atmosphere. Soviet writers, scientists, and literary experts are constantly visiting the United States. These meetings are doing their job—establishing mutual understanding. The future of mankind depends to a great extent on this. And that is confirmed by the lessons of the U.S. elections.

U.S. Rejects Palestinian State Declaration

LD1511234488 Moscow TASS in English 2313 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Washington November 16 TASS—The Reagan administration rejected on Tuesday the creation of an independent Palestinian state, proclaimed earlier at an extraordinary session of the Palestine National Council in Algiers.

Charles Redman, a State Department spokesman, said today that the status of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip could only be defined through talks, not by unilateral actions by any of the sides.

Redman claimed that the declaration of an independent Palestinian state was just such an action.

Marlin Fitzwater, a White House spokesman, made a similar statement.

According to Redman, the administration was yet to receive the texts of the documents approved in Algiers.

At the same time, he admitted that the PLO unequivocal recognition of Resolutions 242 and 338 would be a positive step.

The State Department spokesman said the United States believed that direct talks shoulsd be the focus of the process of settling the Arab-Israeli conflict.

He added that the participation of the Palestinians was required at each stage of those talks.

Human Rights Conference With U.S. Opens

LD1511134688 Moscow TASS in English 1331 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 15 TASS—By TASS special correspondents Vadim Biryukov and Gennadiy Talalayev:

A seminar of Soviet and American parlamentarians on humanitarian cooperation and human rights opened in the Kremlin today. It is the first meeting of such dimensions between MPs of the two countries—an upshot of Mikhail Gorbachev's and Ronald Reagan's Washington meeting of last December. The two leaders had then agreed to establish a bilateral inter-parliamentary mechanism to discuss humanitarian problems with a view to regearing them from purely political rails to concrete studies of what is being done in this sphere by the two countries.

The first Soviet-American human rights debate was made possible by the ongoing reform of the Soviet political system, the seminar was told by Vadim Zagladin, secretary of the foreign affairs commission of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, counsellor of the president of the Supreme Soviet's Presidium, who opened the seminar's first plenary meeting here. "Much has been achieved during the Soviet state's 70-year history, but not everything we wanted to achieve, not everything that stemmed from our ideals," the Soviet co-chairman of the seminar continued. "Furthermore, realisation of tasks to guarantee human rights was stalled substantially, particularly in the thirties-fifties, which we now call the personality cult period, and lawlessness prevailed in several spheres of public life, which has nothing in common with the principles of our society".

"Today we are striving, on the one hand, to restore everything positive, everything good we had achieved in the past, and, on the other, this is apparently even more substantial, to develop cardinally the entire system of human rights, to enrich it and provide clear-cut, adamant guarantees of their existence", Vadim Zagladin said. "Herein we see our main strategic task, guaranteeing perestroyka's success".

Vadim Zagladin told the seminar that 250 thousand Soviet citizens had gone abroad on personal businesses during the nine first months of this year. Sixty six thousand more people have left the USSR for permanent residence abroad in the same period. He also said that 36 thousand people, previously refused exit visas, had left the Soviet Union during the past two years.

The American co-chairman of the seminar Steny Hoyer, member of the U.S. House of Representatives, stressed the usefulness of exchanging views between Soviet and American parliamentarians since this would help representatives from both sides to get to know each other better. He expressed gratitude to Mikhail Gorbachev for inviting the American MPs to visit the Soviet Union and attend the seminar, which, in his opinion, will lay the beginning for a dialogue, is an expression of growing openness in relations between the two countries.

In the afternoon the seminar will continue its work in the following panels—"man, society and law", "man's political and personal rights, including freedom of conscience", "freedom of travel and contacts".

USSR To Export Excavators to United States

PM1611095388 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Nov 88 First Edition p 1

[A. Pyatunin report: "Excavators Going Overseas"]

[Text] Voronezh—A Soviet-U.S. accord has been reached on the delivery of Soviet excavators with enhanced operating qualities to America. Voronezh's "Tyazheks" Production Association has been entrusted with building these machines. The production association's designers and technologists drew up the technical documentation for a hydraulic excavator in the fifth size group in a very short time. Four such excavators are already being manufactured.

China

Reportage on Opening of Soviet Exhibit in PRC

Tolstykh Interviewed

OW1111025188 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 8 Nov 88

[Text] As we have already reported, a Soviet science and technology week will be held in China 8-16 November in conjunction with the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. During the week, a Soviet science and technology fair, the largest in scale since the establishment of ties between the two countries, will be held. About 3,000 kinds of products reflecting Soviet scientific and technological achievements will be displayed at the fair. Famous Soviet scholars and experts will take part in activities during the Soviet science and technology week in China.

Comrade Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Commission for Science and Technology, will head a Soviet Government delegation to China. Before his departure, he granted an interview to our station reporter Belkochistov.

[Begin recording] [Belkochistov] In reply to a question about the significance of the Soviet science and technology week in China, Comrade Tolstykh said:

[Tolstykh in Russian, fading into Mandarin translation] This is the first time that the Soviet science and technology week and Soviet science and technology fair are being held in the PRC, and it is an important event in relations between our two countries. The purpose of these two activities is to demonstrate Soviet scientific and technological potentials and achievements, as well as to promote mutually beneficial economic cooperation and explore the possibilities for scientific and technological cooperation with Chinese organizations. While reviewing the fruitful achievements in bilateral relations, it is necessary to point out that although big advances have been made on the road to establishing and developing scientific and technological cooperation, there is still great potential waiting to be realized. The upcoming Soviet science and technology week can be regarded as a big step forward in such cooperation. We believe that the Soviet science and technology week will not only promote the development of scientific and technological exchange but also enhance the friendship and mutual understanding between the peoples of the two countries.

[Belkochistov] What are the prospects for developing bilateral relations and scientific and technological cooperation?

[Tolstykh] In order to achieve an advanced scientific and technological level and improve the people's welfare, it is necessary to accelerate scientific and technological progress and concentrate efforts on advanced fields of science and technology and in-depth reform of the science and technology management system. These are the tasks already put forth in both the Soviet Union and the PRC. Obviously, scientific and technological cooperation will contribute greatly to fulfilling these tasks. In his speech in Krasnoyarsk, Comrade Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, pointed out: Momentous reforms are taking place in our two great socialist countries. The common points shared by the Soviet Union and China have multiplied. There are many similarities between the Soviet and Chinese reforms. Both countries have drafted basically identical priorities for developing science and technology. In conclusion, I would like to point out: All of these have created the favorable preconditions and possibilities for furthering mutually beneficial cooperation in science and technology. [end recording]

Nuclear Plant Cooperation Cited

OW1211123088 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 8 Nov 88

[Text] Today we continue to report on the activities of the Soviet Science and Technology Fair in Beijing.

The fourth day of the largest-ever fair held by our country in China is being devoted to Soviet energy development. A large portion of the exhibition is set aside to introduce developments in this area. Among the products being displayed are those related to technologies of the coal, petroleum, and natural gas industries; thermal, hydro, and nuclear power stations; and equipment for utilizing such nonconventional regenerated forms of energy as solar, geothermal, and wind power.

The environmental question, which has a bearing on the development of energy, has aroused the concern of many people of late. Thermal power stations are one of the major sources of carbonic acid, which pollutes the air and helps create the so-called greenhouse effect. The Soviet Union attaches great importance to increasing the cleanliness of the environment in developing energy. Developing nuclear energy is one of the major efforts in this regard.

Our special correspondent (Charibov) has sent the following recorded tape of an interview with Comrade Lukonin, minister of the USSR Minister of Atomic Power. The minister said:

[Lukonin in Russian, fading into Mandarin translation] China is our neighbor. Mutually beneficial cooperation between the two nations in the economic, scientific, and education fields has been developing day by day and we are very happy about that.

We hope not only to expand cooperation and exchange experience with Chinese nuclear energy experts, even though countries around the world, including the USSR, are facing some difficulties in selecting nuclear power plant sites. However, a safe nuclear industry is needed, first of all for meeting the requirements of improving the ecological environment. The USSR now has 45 nuclear stations with a total designed capacity of 34.4 million kw. China is also developing its nuclear power industry. Therefore, exchanging experience, especially on the question of improving the safety of nuclear plants, will benefit both of us.

In April of this year, we met Chinese nuclear power experts for the first time at the Soviet Ministry of Electricity [as heard]. The Chinese experts at that time showed an interest in a series of questions concerning nuclear power plant operations. A list of cooperation projects in nuclear power generation, including heat production, nuclear safety, and the development of nuclear power plant automation systems, was drawn up at the third session of the Soviet-Chinese Commission on Economic, Trade, and Scientific and Technical Cooperation in July 1988. Such contacts between nuclear power experts of the two nations will help solve the problem of nuclear plant safety in a still better way.

I hope that the Chinese people will ultimately accomplish the tasks set forth by the 13th CPC Congress. I wish them happiness and every success.

Chinese Premier Visits

OW1211204088 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Text] In a speech at the opening ceremony of the Soviet science festival, Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, described the holding of such a festival in China as proof of an improvement in bilateral relations in recent years. Chinese Premier Li Peng visited one of the Soviet exhibitions at the science festival.

IZVESTIYA on Exhibit

PM1511160188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Yu. Savenkov dispatch: "China-USSR: Under the Roof of the Exhibition Complex"]

[Text] Beijing—The "USSR Science and Technology" exhibition that has opened as part of the Soviet Science and Technology Days in the PRC continues at the exhibition complex here. The event was timed to coincide with the 71st anniversary of October.

Hundreds of exhibitions have been held in this complex, but for a quarter of a century now the inhabitants of China have not had an opportunity to feel the pulse of the achievements of Soviet scientific and technological thought.

The exhibition organizers note that in recent years, since the process of the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations began, priority has been given to economic ties. The development of scientific and technical contacts began relatively recently and was held up by the lack of specific reciprocal information. The aim of the Soviet festival of science and technology is to revive these contacts or, in most spheres, to establish them from scratch.

Here is a list of some of the items on show—a model of the "Phobos" interplanetary space station, a mockup of the powerful "Energiya" space rocket, prototypes of the latest welding equipment developed by the Ukrainian Academy of Science Ye.O. Paton Arc Welding Institute, including the general-purpose manual device which was successfully tested by Soviet cosmonauts in open space, and original medical instruments developed under the leadership of Professors S.N. Fedorov and G.A. Ilizarov.

B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, who heads the Soviet delegation, described the exhibition during the opening ceremony as one of the most representative exhibitions ever held by the Soviet Union abroad.

And here is the opinion of Song Jian, chairman of the PRC State Science and Technology Commission: "The exhibition is very informative. We are well aware of the talent and creativeness of Soviet specialists. Chinese and Soviet partners must find each other here without fail."

An important feature of the exhibition is its commercial character. Opportunities for long-term scientific and technical cooperation, including the creation of joint enterprises, scientific laboratories, and research centers are being looked into in businesslike fashion.

On the opening day, the exhibition was visited by Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council. Here is what he wrote in the Visitors' Book: "I congratulate you on the traditional opening of USSR Science and Technology Days in China. I wish the Soviet people great success in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress."

USSR To Help PRC Build Power Stations

PM1411115588 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 45, Nov 88 (Signed to Press 3 Nov 88) p 22

[TASS report for EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA under the rubric "Chronicle": "Contract Signed"]

[Text] A contract has been signed for the provision of Soviet technical assistance in the building of the "Jixian" Thermal Electric Power Station in the PRC, with a capacity of 1 million kilowatts. This will be one of the first three thermal electric power stations whose construction is covered by the Soviet-Chinese intergovernmental agreement. According to the document, Soviet organizations will for the first time deliver abroad a complete electric power station with power units having a capacity of 500,000 kilowatts.

Soviet-Chinese contracts for the construction of three more major thermal electric power stations in the PRC with a total capacity of 3.2 million kilowatts are planned for conclusion next year.

The Chinese side is greatly pleased with the successful start of our two countries' cooperation in the power industry sphere, a TASS correspondent was told in an interview with Xiong Quangeng, vice president of the China National Machinery Import and Export Corporation.

Northeast Asia

Biryukova Meets DPRK Official on Light Industry

LD1611052088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In the Kremlin today, Comrade Biryukova received Kim Pok-sin, candidate member of the Workers Party of Korea Central Committee Politburo, vice-premier of the Administrative Council, and chairman of the DPRK Light Industry Committee. An exchange of opinions took place on issues relating to enhancing the effectiveness of Soviet-Korean cooperation in the sphere of light industry.

Andrianov Examines DPRK Reunification Initiatives

LD1111094688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1745 GMT 10 Nov 88

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Igor Surguchev]

[Excerpts] [Surguchev] Foreign mass information media have been noticeably paying attention to the new peace initiatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The implementation of a whole range of the proposals that have been put forward envisions ensuring the reunification of Korea in 1995. The Japanese newspaper YOMIURI notes the very specific nature of the DPRK's initiatives. I am asking my colleague commentator Boris Andrianov to express his view on the subject.

[Andrianov] First of all, I suppose it will not be out of place to remind you of a remarkable event that took place in the life of the Korean nation 15 years ago. It was precisely then that representatives of the north and south of Korea determined three main principle for the reunification of the country. They were outlined in a joint statement. Their essence is plain: first, independence; second, repudiating the use of force; and third, national rapproachment regardless of ideological systems. The very fact that such fundamental provisions were formulated and publicly announced reflected the growing aspiration of the Korean people to do away with the national split and attain reunification.

It would seem that the first step was made on the path toward this goal. In reality, however, things have proved to be different. No real progress has occurred in the rapproachment of the north and the south as yet. Although over the 15 years that have elapsed since then, the Government of the DPRK has not only put forward a number of new constructive ideas and proposals but has also unilaterally undertaken a few practical steps, having thereby supported its initiatives by action.

It is sufficient to mention only the very major ones, I think. At the beginning of 1984, for example, the DPRK proposed to the United States and South Korea holding trilateral talks to discuss two questions: a peace treaty to replace the 1953 truce and withdrawing U.S. troops from South Korea. Approximately 2 years later, the DPRK pledged not to manufacture, transport, or station nuclear weapons on its territory. At the same time Pyongyang addressed an appeal to Washington not to build up such mass destruction means in South Korea. At the same time the DPRK unilaterally stopped holding major military exercises in its country and then reduced its armed forces. However, all these and other similar proposals, appeals, and specific actions of the DPRK failed to prompt an appropriate response on the part of Washington and Seoul. There they just decided, in plain terms, to scorn Pyongyang's goodwill, having attempted to pass off its peaceful initiative as propaganda, which allegedly confirmed the cunningness of the Communists who are getting ready to attack South Korea.

However, such demogogic tricks engendered by the old thinking began to let down their authors ever more frequently in the conditions when in South Korea last summer a wave of unprecedented struggle rose against the dictatorship regime of Chon Tu-hwan. [passage omitted]

This sort of public movement makes both Washington and Seoul talk differently. Three weeks ago, for example, after a meeting with South Korean President No Tae-u, the current White House chief surprised journalists when he indicated that it is possible to reduce the U.S. Armed Forces in South Korea. Representatives of Seoul authorities have also been addressing appeals about a dialogue and detente. True, they have no practical recommendations on this score. They are present however in the DPRK's new peace initiative. In particular, it is proposed that trilateral talks be held between the DPRK, the United States, and South Korea to resolve questions concerning a stage-by-stage withdrawal of U.S. troops and nuclear weapons from the south of the Korean peninsula and a reduction of the armed forces of the south and the north down to 100,000 soldiers before the end 1991.

Accords on these questions envision sealing a peace agreement between the DPRK and the United States and a nonaggression declaration between the north and south. Other proposals have also been put forward, which, surely, they know already in Washington and Seoul. One would like to hope that all the interested sides will joint the DPRK's peace efforts. Only this kind of development of events can satisfy the ambitions of the Korean people and correspond to the interests of peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region.

Planned U.S. Nuclear Base Increases 'Danger'

SK1611074588 Moscow International Service in Korean 1330 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Station commentator Nikolayev]

[Text] According to what is known, the United States is planning to build a nuclear base on Cheju Island. Nikolayev, commentator for this broadcasting station, writes on this as follows:

If the (Manesk) Plan is put into practice, the security danger will undoubtedly increase in the Far East. This is because the density of the U.S. deployment of nuclear weapons in South Korea is four times higher than in West European NATO member states.

The United States takes a realistic position toward the issue of reducing its nuclear weapons in Europe. However, it seems that the United States has not changed its position toward the Far East.

The Korean Committee for the Anti-Nuclear Struggle stated in Pyongyang that Washington is moving the danger of war from one edge of the earth to another. The possibility of resuming dialogue between the North and the South of Korea has recently increased. However, the situation on the Korean peninsula still remains complex.

The danger of military clashes still exists. If one takes into consideration the actual deployment of U.S. nuclear weapons in South Korea, one can easily come to a conclusion one can hardly imagine.

The initiatives put forward recently by the DPRK are contributing to relaxing tension in this region and to the cause of peace and security. As is known, Pyongyang proposed that the issue of the phased withdrawal of U.S. troops and their nuclear weapons from South Korea and the issue of reducing armed forces in the North and South to 100,000 each be resolved through negotiations.

The DPRK proposed that the United States complete the withdrawal of its armed forces from South Korea by the end of 1991 in three phases and of its nuclear weapons by the end of 1990 in two phases.

The proposal made by Soviet leader Gorbachev at Krasnoyarsk in September opened a new occasion for easing tension in the Far East.

This proposal includes a plan to discuss in many ways the issue of (?removing) military confrontation in areas where the coasts of the Soviet Union, the PRC, Japan, the DPRK, and South Korea are close to each another, in an effort to freeze the numbers of the navy and air force personnel and to equally reduce them.

To the people's regret, however, Washington's (?military) position still serves as an obstacle to easing tension in Korea. This is clearly shown by the U.S. plan to build a nuclear base on Cheju Island, South Korea.

Talyzin Welcomes Mongolian Party Delegation

PM1511132388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Delegation Arrival"]

[Text] A delegation from the MPRP headed by D. Molomjamts, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, arrived in Moscow 14 November in accordance with the plan for interparty ties between the CPSU and the MPRP to familiarize itself with the work of CPSU party organizations to restructure economic management and the economic mechanism.

The delegation was met at the airport by N.V. Talyzin, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, other officials, and also Zh. Enkhsaykhan [name as transliterated], minister plenipotentiary and counselor at the Mongolian Embassy in the USSR.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Cambodia's Hun Sen Interviewed on France Talks

BK1611043588 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia
1230 GMT 15 November 88

[Interview with Hun Sen, chairman of the Cambodian Council of Ministers, by Moscow radio correspondent; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Comrade Hun Sen, member of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Political Bureau, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and PRK foreign minister, recently attended the meeting in Fere-en-Tardenois, France. During his stay in the Soviet Union, on his way home, the comrade granted an interview to our Moscow radio correspondent. The contents of Comrade Hun Sen's answers to our correspondent's questions are as follows:

[Correspondent] What is your assessment of the latest talks between the PRK representatives and those from the opposing Cambodian factions?

[Hun Sen] In addition to the Jakarta informal meetings [JIM], I have had three rounds of talks with Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. Now, I have started talking with Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Son Sann. The just-ended meeting was an important one at which a forum was set up for Cambodian internal affairs. In July 1988, there was an informal meeting, which had never occured previously, between the contending Cambodian factions, the Indochinese countries, and the ASEAN states. However, we have noted that the second JIM, and any subsequent ones, will only be able to deal exclusively with the international aspects of the Cambodian problem. Now we have created a Cambodian inner circle with the Hun Sen-Sihanouk-Son Sann summit, followed by the formation of a working commission to examine the general aspects concerning a settlement of Cambodia's internal affairs. Although Khieu Samphan of the Khmer Rouge did not appear at the meeting, the door to the working commission always remains open to the Khmer Rouge delegation and Khieu Samphan is, at all times, welcome at the summit among the Cambodian parties.

As a matter of fact, at present, the situation is facing difficulties because a thorough settlement of the specific issues is still not possible. So, time is needed for further discussions in order to reach a definitive solution.

[Correspondent] What kind of contributions, in your opinion, could other states provide for the settlement of the Cambodian problem?

[Hun Sen] The Cambodian problem has two aspects, namely the internal and international aspects. As everyone knows, the Cambodian problem is Cambodia's internal affairs. So, the internal issues should be solved by the Cambodian people themselves through negotiations among the contending Cambodian parties. This is the internal aspect. As for the international aspect, we have a well-defined principle that it should be resolved by countries that are involved with the Cambodian parties. So, the involved countries and, those concerned with peace in Cambodia and stability in Southeast Asia, have a practical role and aptitude to collaborate in the search for a solution to the Cambodian problem. The problem cannot be solved by everybody at the UN forum or the UN Security Council or at an international conference. Its solution requires joint agreement and the decision of the concerned parties and the involved countries, and an international conference would simply be convened to guarantee the agreement concluded, but, anyway, those facts are interrelated.

[Correspondent] Beginning on 2 December, the month of Soviet-Cambodian friendship will be observed in the Soviet Union to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the PRK. Please, comrade give us your impressions on the development of Soviet-Cambodian relations.

[Hun Sen] The date 7 January 1989 will be the 10th anniversary of the PRK's founding. Considering the stability and progress of the PRK, it is apparent that we cannot exist without the Soviet Union's great and effective support and assistance. Soviet aid has become an important factor for the PRK's future developments. Through its support and assistance, it is worth noting that the relationship between the USSR and Cambodia during the past 10 years has not only extended in its form, but has also deepened, meaning the relations between the two Marxist-Leninist parties and socialist states are friendly and fraternal. We are very satisfied with the relations that have, with quality, increased and deepened with each passing day, and, especially, following the launching of restructruing in the Soviet Union, improvements have been made on the remaining points of the relationship between the two countries, and the effectiveness of the cooperation has also been upgraded.

[Announcer] These viewpoints were expressed by Comrade Hun Sen, member of the KPRP Central Committee Political Bureau, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and PRK foreign minister, in an interview granted to our Moscow radio correspondent.

Latest Talks on Cambodia's Future Viewed

PM1411165188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[A. Vasin article: "Cambodia: Preventing Further Genocide"]

[Text] The "Khmer Rouge," who turned Cambodia into a real "killing field" during the 4 years of their rule, have embarked on the path of openly trying to sabotage the peace settlement process within the country. This is illustrated by their absence from the meeting of representatives of the various Cambodian political forces near Paris.

Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, and Son Sann, leader of the armed units of Lon Nol's former pro-U.S. regime, met round the negotiating table in the suburb of Fere-en-Tardenois, 100km from the French capital. This meeting is remarkable not so much for its results as for the fact that its participants demonstrated that talks are continuing and that the idea of settling the long national conflict peacefully is winning the minds and hearts of Cambodian politicians.

The final communique says that the sides agreed to convene an international conference on Cambodia, the date and place of which will be determined later. It announced the creation of a working commission, whose task is to study the possibilities of solving the Cambodian problem peacefully and also of holding another meeting between Hun Sen, Sihanouk, and Son Sann.

There was once agin, as at the recent session of the working group on Cambodia in Jakarta, no "Khmer Rouge" representative at the conference. This alarming sign attests that they have set course for a second attempt to seize power in 1990 when, under the accord between Phnom Penh and Hanoi, the last Vietnamese volunteer troops will leave the country. All indications are that an extremist grouping has gained the upper hand in the Pol Pot leadership—until recently a "Khmer Rouge" representative was expected to come to Paris.

At the close of the French meeting, Hun Sen stated at a press conference that the republic's government does not oppose the Pol Pot grouping's participation in dialogue—provided, however, that they abandon the use of military force and also disarm. Will the "Khmer Rouge, who are aware of their—to put it mildly—unpopularity in Cambodia and who are accustomed to relying solely on weapons and fighters, do this? They are well aware that both the PRK Government, Lon Nol's supporters, and Sihanouk's supporters categorically oppose a repetition of their absolute rule in the national political arena. "We are now seeking guarantees against the return of Pol Pot's supporters to power," Hun Sen stated at the end of October in an interview with France's LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS.

Is national reconciliation possible without the "Khmer Rouge," in view of the fact that they have the most considerable military force among the opposition? Not only PRK representatives but also other participants in the dialogue and also a number of ASEAN figures answer this question in the affirmative. However, international guarantees are also necessary, mainly from China, which is the main supplier of arms to this grouping. A number of Western and ASEAN countries, primarily Thailand, need to review their positions. For the Pol Pot supporters' bases are on the latter's territory and without its support they would have long since ceased to exist as a serious military and political force. Hun Sen pointed out that, if the tragedy of genocide recurs, the states supporting Pol Pot will be equally responsible for this.

Changes have recently emerged in the PRK stance. Hun Sen stated in one interview that Beijing considers Pol Pot and his stooges guilty of the crimes.... However, no practical conclusions have as yet been drawn from this, and the recent UN resolution on Cambodia that reflects an unobjective interpretation of the situation within the country shows that a new approach to the settlement of the situation in this long-suffering country has still only begun to carve out a path.

TASS on Prospects for Cambodian Solution

LD1511162488 Moscow TASS in English 1525 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 15 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent:

Will the glimmer of light that had appeared at the end of the tunnel after the recent tripartite Kampuchean summit meeting become sufficiently bright to show the way out of the protracted regional conflict in Southeast Asia? This question is being asked by many today. Hopes are being pinned on progress already made in the effort to reach a political settlement around Kampuchea.

The meeting of Hun Sen, Sihanouk and Son Sann was a continuation of the process known to have started in Jakarta. It is keynoted by search of ways to unravelling the Kampuchean knot on the basis of national reconciliation, balanced interests, rapprochement of positions and mutually acceptable compromises. Although the stands of the sides involved are yet far apart on many questions, common views have appeared on prospects for the withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers, on the importance of taking joint steps to prevent a comeback of the genocide regime. These are the major mutually interconnected issues of a Kampuchean settlement. It is also important that the meeting participants have agreed to convene an international conference on Kampuchea.

The prospects for the withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers are clear and quite promising. The last detachment of the 50,000 troops, a half of the entire Vietnamese contingent, slated for withdrawal this year, will go home this December.

This goes to show that guarantees against a possible Polpotist comeback has now become a matter of cardinal importance. Relying as they do on their armed formations, the Polpotists are going out of their way to block a Kampuchean settlement. This is why the "Red Khmers" had refused to take part in the meeting.

Important in this context is the stand that might be assumed by states backing the "Red Khmers". Political analysts have noted that during the recent Thailand visit of Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, the sides had gone on record for the "Red Khmers" participation in the future negotiations on a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem, for their greater flexibility in its solution. The "Red Khmers" could be admitted to the dialogue, the PRK Government believes, only on condition they renounce the use of armed forces and if, at the least, all foreign military aid to them is discontinued.

Active support to the search for a concrete solution to the Kampuchean conflict is the call of our time. Alongside with the other states concerned, the USSR is prepared to press on in this direction. The USSR holds that the Kampuchean problem is gradually approaching the stage of practical solution.

Commentary Views Recent Cambodian Summit

BK1211035888 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Alekseyev commentary]

[Text] As Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, had remarked in his interview with a TASS correspondent, the meeting he held in a suburb of Paris a few days ago with Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Son Sann, leader of an opposing faction, generally achieved moderate results, which can be considered an important outcome with the forming of a permanent working commission in charge of studying all possibilities to find a political solution to the Cambodian conflict. It is worth noting that another significant result was also made. Comrade Hun Sen, Samdech Sihanouk, and Son Sann agreed to meet again next year.

Along with this, in our correspondent Comrade Alekseyev's viewpoint, there were also differences in the discussion. The main divergence was the question of ceasing outside aid to the opposing Cambodian factions. And now, this element has become an essential condition, primarily resulting from the Khmer Rouge's attitude. The Khmer Rouge is the sole opposing group, and its leaders do not want to forego their intrigue of seizing power in Cambodia by armed force. What has nurtured their obstinacy in contradiction with the spirit of national reconciliation? The huge external military aid to the Khmer Rouge is conspicuously providing the possibility for the cold-blooded group to continue its war against the PRK forces.

It is also worth noting that both Samdech Sihanouk and Son Sann unreservedly agreed with Phnom Penh on the necessity of having a guarantee to prevent Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge group, accountable for massacring three million Cambodian people, from returning to power in Cambodia. In the interview granted to TASS news agency, Comrade Hun Sen pointed out that this point was thoroughly discussed in the talks held in Fere-en-Tardenois township. Is there any better guarantee that would cut off provision of arms and ammunition to the Pol Pot group? It is expected that only this measure could neutralize the Khmer Rouge leaders' war-mongering ambition and press them into undertaking the cooperation for the benefit of a political solution to the Cambodian problem.

It is noted that Phnom Penh has agreed to allow the participation of the Khmer Rouge in the peaceful settlement, but it simply does not want to have any contacts with some of the former Pol Pot regime's leaders seriously responsible for the policy of genocide in Cambodia. However, it is imperative to dissolve Pol Pot's military forces, and the Khmer Rouge group must do away with its armed struggle.

The PRK expresses hope that such a situation will certainly be realized. And it is not by chance that the PRK has taken the initiative, in the wake of the complete Vietnamese volunteer troop pullout by the first quarter of 1990 at the latest, to set up in Cambodia a quadripartite council headed by Samdech Sihanouk. The council is entrusted with the duties of instituting conditions and procedure for general elections, and to prepare a constitution for the country.

Cambodia Terms UN Resolution 'Illegitimate'

LD0711173288 Moscow TASS in English 1506 GMT 7 Nov 88

[Text] Phnom Penh November 7 TASS—The Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of Kampuchea made a statement describing as unacceptable the resolution on the situation in Kampuchea, which was approved recently by participants in the 43rd U.N. General Assembly session.

A statement released by SPK News Agency emphasizes that the resolution on the situation on Kampuchea, which was sponsored by the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) member countries, fully distorts the real state of affairs in the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK).

The authors of this resolution present with a different dressing the ASEAN hypocritical call for the earliest withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteer army from Kampuchean territory. At the some time, they do not reminisce in any way about the need to withdraw external support and assistance to the Pol Pot criminals and two other opposition parties, and also ignore the concern about the possible danger of the Pol Pot clique reverting to power in Kampuchea, the statement stresses.

On the other hand, the authors of the resolution declare in support of the ASEAN countries' proposal for forming an interim government prior to the general elections, which actually means an abolition of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The authors of the resolution pass over in silence the violations of the Kampuchean refugees' rights in border camps, especially in areas controlled by the Pol Pot men.

Disregarding the PRK initiatives which demonstrate its good will, the initiatives of the two Indochinese countries and also the eagerness of the entire progressive mankind to have the Kampuchean problem settled fairly and within the shortest timespan, which should help bring peace and an end to the Kampuchean people's sufferings, participants in the 43rd U.N. General Assembly session raised anew with persistence, which is worthy of better application, and discussed the Kampuchean question without the involvement of the PRK Government, the sole lawful representative of the Kampuchean people, which is now engaged in handling Kampuchea's domestic and external issues and gives guidance to the process of rehabilitating the country, the PRK Foreign Ministry statement says.

The authors of this unacceptable resolution flout mankind's consciousness and turn a blind eye to the death of three million Kampucheans who became victims of the Pol Pot regime which continues to enjoy the United Nations' recognition.

This step seriously undermines the prestige and charter of the United Nations Organisation, drives into a stalemate all efforts aimed at the earliest settlement of the Kampuchean problem, and hampers the United Nations to accomplish its lofty tasks.

The PRK holds that the resolution on Kampuchea, approved by participants in the 43rd U.N. General Assembly session, is illegitimate, the statement emphasizes.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Deputy Premier on Coup Rumors, Rebels

PM1111104788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Afghan Deputy Premier Muhammad Sarwar Mangal by correspondent M. Yusin: "The Republic Will Hold Out"; date, place not given]

[Text] Muhammad Sarwar Mangal, who holds the post of deputy prime minister in Afghanistan's coalition government, answers your IZVESTIYA correspondent's questions.

[Yusin] What is the military-political situation in Afghanistan like today and how, in your opinion, will events in the future develop?

[Mangal] The situation is very tense. We are looking at things soberly and without illusions: In the next few months we are faced with a desperate struggle. The country's destiny will be at stake. To hold out in the forthcoming battle we need above all unity and cohesion, especially in the ranks of the people's army.

Already, without waiting for the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops, the forces of counterrevolution have been markedly activated. They are shelling cities, cutting off roads, seizing airfields, and trying to provoke armed actions in administrative centers. Plans for attacking Kabul have been elaborated. From 12,000 to 16,000 rebels have been concentrated on the approaches to the city. They have become so confident of success that they have already divided the capital into zones of occupation between the different groupings.

According to some assessments, after the Soviet soldiers' withdrawal the intensiveness of operations will increase twofold or threefold. Nonetheless I believe that we must not lapse into pessimism. Having concentrated its forces on the main salients, the government will be able to ensure the defense of cities and the safety of the most important roads. I fully allow that we will be unable to hold onto some regions and provinces, but we will keep Kabul and the main centers.

One more element here is also very important. After the Soviet troops have left Afghanistan the government forces will regain a national and patriotic nature in the eyes of some of the population. The "intransigents" will lose an important argument in their propaganda—claiming that they are waging a jihad—a "holy war" against the infidels. Gradually an increasing number of people will come to believe that it is our power, by inviting all peace-loving forces to cooperate, which is seeking to put an end to the bloodshed.

It seems to me that the combat operations will be fiercest in the first 6 months or year after the withdrawal of Soviet troops. It is important to hold out in this period and then the flames of war will decline.

[Yusin] Is there really a danger that Afghanistan will be split into two or several states?

[Mangal] I have heard such fears, but I consider the prospect to be unrealistic. For all its desire to do so the opposition will be unable to split Afghanistan. The peoples inhabiting the country have common traditions and culture. There are no historical or economic preconditions for partition. There is probably some point in mentioning something else—granting the provinces more autonomy and increasing local power. We are now conducting talks on the creation of coalition governments in several provinces. Those representatives of the opposition who agree to peaceful dialogue will be able to take part in them. Local governments will be to a considerable extent independent of the central authorities in Kabul.

[Yusin] In a recent speech Prime Minister Sharq stated that neither the PDPA nor the opposition enjoys the support of the majority of the Afghan population....

[Mangal] Despite the crisis caused by the factional struggle within the party, a considerable proportion of Afghans have retained their faith in the PDPA. Perhaps they do not constitute the majority of the population arithmetically speaking. But they are nonetheless most substantial forces on whom it is possible to rely. In addition no one apart from the PDPA has the necessary experience in administering the country or can offer a program for resolving economic and social tasks.

The opposition does not have a trace of such a program. The "intransigents" are not putting forward any positive platform. "What steps will you take when you seize power?" Western journalists ask the ringleaders of the "seven." "First we must take Kabul," they say, avoiding an answer.

I remember one episode. When the rebels seized Konduz they immediately set about plundering the stores shooting civilians, and then each other. Clashes began between different groupings. Even now, under the conditions of war, on the same side of the barricades, they cannot reach agreement. They are bringing bloody internecine conflicts and chaos to Afghanistan. The people are tired of both.

[Yusin] Reports have appeared in the press that at the PDPA Central Committee October Plenum many party members were subjected to serious sanctions. What was the reason for these measures?

[Mangal] We did indeed expel several members from the PDPA. Changes also took place in the top leadership—two people were expelled from the Politburo and two from the Secretariat. The majority of those subjected to sanctions had not fulfilled party demands to cease factional activity. Today, as I have already said, we need above all cohesion and that is why an implacable struggle against factions. As for reports in the Western press about a several hundred people expelled from the party, these figures have been very greatly exaggerated.

[Yusin] How do you assess the recent NEW YORK TIMES report on attempts to carry out a coup in Kabul?

[Mangal] These rumors are absolutely unfounded. At present, when there are still Soviet troops in Afghanistan, the idea of a coup could only occur to a madman. Plotters would not last a couple of hours. In addition we have created an effective system with whose aid any such attempt in the future can be intercepted.

[Yusin] And a last question: In what state is the country's economy right now?

[Mangal] As a whole the situation in the economy is not gratifying. On the one hand, thanks to the government's efforts to encourage private trade, there is a large choice of goods in the stores and booths. But prices are too high and are often beyond the means of ordinary Afghans.

I will describe briefly the measures that are being taken to ensure the population's living standard. We have increased wages for low-paid workers and employees. A system of low-price state stores has been created. Flour, sugar, tea, and oil are distributed free at enterprises. Free meals and free travel on state transport twice a day has been organized for employees.

I must also mention the great aid which the USSR is rendering us in providing food and restoring regions which have suffered from the war.

Afghanistan Urges Security Council To Act

LD1511171788 Moscow TASS in English 1648 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] New York November 15 TASS—In a letter sent to the United Nations Security Council chairman, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan, 'Abdul Wakil, has requested that the council consider without delay the situation relating to Afghanistan.

As a result of continued interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, the situation around that country and in South-East Asia as a whole has been destabilized, while further acts of interference and violation of peace in the region might lead to an international conflict, says the document published today.

Afghanistan urged the Security Council members to call on Pakistan to honour its obligations under the Geneva accords of April 14, 1988 as well as the U.N. secretary-general's efforts to reach a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan and around it, and to support those efforts.

We are calling on the Security Council to adopt effective collective measures to prevent and avert the threat to peace in Afghanistan and stop Pakistan's interference in its neighbour's internal affairs, Wakil said.

Correspondent on Troop Withdrawal, Geneva Accords

LD1511213888 Moscow TASS in English 1931 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Kabul November 15 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Tyssovskiy:

The withdrawal of Soviet troops was suspended because of a political situation that has shaped in Afghanistan. They will be withdrawn from Afghanistan in due conditions and not in the conditions that bands of the Afghan opposition try to impose and that do not conform to the task of normal withdrawal of Soviet troops.

These words by Aleksander Bessmertynkh, first USSR deputy foreign minister, at a briefing in Moscow early in November caused a stream of false rumours from the Western mass media, and rumours clearly provoked "from above". Thus U.S. Under Secretary of State for Political Affirs Michael Armacost said following a meeting with current leader of the Peshawar "Alliance of Seven" Burhanuddin Rabbani, that by signing the Geneva accords the USSR assumed the obligation to withdraw all its troops from Afghanistan by February 15, 1989. The American diplomat seems to have forgotten that a whole package of agreements was adopted in Geneva and that its provisions are meant to be observed by all the parties to the accords. He cannot but know the fact that in the opinion of the U.N. secretary-general and his apparatus in Afghanistan and Pakistan, these provisions are scrupulously observed by the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan.

The purpose of Aleksander Bessmertnykh's statement is to call attention to the consequences which will affect the implementation of the Geneva accords if Washington and Islamabad intend to continue sabotaging the international document openly. And false rumours are out of place as agreements are concluded in order to be observed by all the parties. If this principle is violated, the agreements are made pointless.

The course of the implementation of the Geneva accords now fully depends on the stance of the USA and Pakistan. If they wish to preserve the spirit and letter of Geneva intact, the USSR is prepared to promote the manifestation of this common sense. If they do not want this, it is Islamabad and Washington that will bear the responsibility for the undermining of the Geneva accords.

Commentary on Reagan Talks With Afghan Rebel

LD1111225588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] The attention of the news agencies has been drawn to the meeting in Washington between Rabbani, the leader of the seven-party alliance of the Afghan opposition, with U.S. President Reagan and Secretary of State Shultz. According to a White House spokesman, the United States does not intend to revise its policy of supplying weapons to the Afghan opposition.

Here is our commentary. Aleksandr Malikov is at the microphone.

[Malikov] An exceptionally important and, I would say, critical time is now setting in in the armed confrontation in Afghanistan. Neither of the sides to the conflict is strong enough to win, and at the same time each is trying to speed up an end to the conflict. It is all a matter of by what method this is to be achieved. The problem of choosing either a political solution or a continuation of confrontation is therefore becoming more and more acute.

The meetings and talks between Rabbani, the leader of the Peshawar Seven, and Reagan and Shultz have, to judge by his own statements, attuned the opposition to the previous key of irreconcilability. The directive given by the White House can be formulated roughly as follows: no compromises and continue to press the cities and pressure the Afghan Government until the upper hand is achieved in armed struggle. It is apparent that the opposition has again been promised a flow of weapons in order to intensify these bellicose attitudes.

Deserving attention, I think, is how Jamshed Marker, Pakistani ambassador to the United States, reacted to this. He is the ambassador of a country which for some 10 years now has been the never drying up channel through which the flow has been getting to Afghanistan. In one interview he stressed that any halt to the supply of U.S. weapons to the opposition would be a fatal step. But the question arises of for whom this would be a fatal step. If you are speaking of the interests of the Afghan people, it is precisely the continuing supply of weapons that is striking a blow at its hopes of a speedy restoration of peace in the country. It is a blow too against the hopes of the world community. After all, as experience teaches us, international agreements are only viable if they are complied with by all the sides. Otherwise, they lose their significance. Therefore, the resistance forces, which certain people in the West like to call them, and those closely associated with them are becoming the forces of resistance to an honorable implementation of the Geneva agreements.

Nevertheless, there is a way out of the impasse of blind hostility and confrontation. Kabul has for a long time been proposing it and has been constantly amending and adding in some way to its steadfast peace initiatives. We need to sit down at the negotiating table, this is what Hasan Sharq, the republic's prime minister, has been saying, addressing the representatives of all sections and parties both at home and abroad. However, holding such a multilateral and balanced dialogue requires first that the guns fall silent.

Incidentally, neither Sharq nor the other members of his Cabinet are by any means clinging to their portfolios and intending to monopolize power in the country. They are ready to lay down their powers, if a viable neutral coalition government is created as a result of a dialogue and negotiations. A way to its formation through the holding of a Loya Jirgah as a kind of nationwide assembly of reconciliation is not being ruled out.

I am of course far from thinking that the difficult road to peace in Afghanistan can be paved only by these proposals. There may be other options. But one thing is certain—namely, that the main argument on this matter should not be the policy of force and armed pressure but the strength of the policy of national reconciliation.

TASS Notes Redman Remarks on Afghanistan

LD1111175388 Moscow TASS in English 1545 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 11 TASS—A TASS diplomatic correspondent writes:

When addressing journalists in Washington, Charles Redman, a spokesman for the U.S. Department of State, said the question of a future of the Government of Afghanistan should be decided by Afghans themselves. He also recognized the advisability of a political settlement of intra-Afghan problems.

It is difficult not to agree with such pronouncements. Moreover, these ideas run throughout the Geneva agreements. However, their implementation is being hindered by the actions of Pakistan and the United States itself. Something like a vicious circles emerges in this respect: the U.S. official's calls run counter to Washington's practical steps.

What prevents the Afghans from deciding themselves the destiny of their country? Immediately following the start of Soviet troops' withdrawal from Afghanistan, the Peshawar-based leaders of the Afghan opposition, instead of a search for ways towards the Kabul-suggested national reconciliation, began to heat up the situation in the country, stepping up military activity in various areas with a wide use of rocket weaponry.

They intensified sabotage and terrorist activities which were ensured by unceasing deliveries of arms of U.S. and other make that are supplied to the opposition groups across the Pakistani-Afghan border.

Moreover, lately the opposition forces concentrated strikes on units of Soviet troops. After the Geneva agreements entered into force, the opposition forces fired rockets and made attacks 555 times, thereby hindering the normal course of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghan territory.

Washington while focussing its attention on the problem of the Soviet troops' withdrawal, does not create conditions for the implementation of the Geneva accords, although it should have been doing that as a guarantor of the important international accord. A vicious circles again.

The Soviet Union still proceeds from the premise that Afghanistan's problems can be resolved only peacefully while the United States and Pakistan should use their influence on the Afghan opposition forces to stop the bloodshed in that long-suffering country.

Afghanistan is in need of a constructive peaceful dialogue to achieve a political solution to intra-Afghan problems. A ceasefire and the start of talks on the formation of a coalition government on a broad basis with the participation of all forces opposing one another would be an important practical step in this direction.

A ceasefire is known to have long been suggested by President Najibullah of Afghanistan. Moreover, Kabul unilaterally resorted to the step.

For the Afghans to be able to decide their future themselves, as Mr Redman advocates, it is necessary that both Pakistan and the United States fulfil their obligations to create conditions for the achievement of national concord in Afghanistan.

Afghan Rebel Leader's News Conference Criticized

LD1011193488 Moscow TASS in English 1916 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Bonn November 10 TASS—The armed Afghan opposition continues flatly rejecting the national reconciliation policy approved by the Afghan people. This is corroborated by Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, a chieftain of extremists who makes these days a voyage over several West European countries, including the FRG. Speaking at a press conference in Bonn today, Hikmatyar sought to justify in every way barbaric rocketing of Kabul, other cities and demilitarized areas of the country. These attacks result in numerous casualties among innocent population.

His pronouncements show, among other things, that the armed Afghan opposition ignores the opinion of the majority of Afghan citizens and seeks to grab power in the country by stepping up bloodshed rather than stopping it. It is clear from Hikmatyar's statement at the press conference that all the proposals by the Afghan legitimate government to settle oustanding questions at the negotiating table are flatly rejected, as before, by the irreconcilable part of the opposition.

Representatives of several democratic organizations of Afghans living in the FRG made today a statement where they resolutely denounced the permission to hold a press conference in Bonn for a chieftain of Afghan extremists, whose hands are smeared with blood of innocent residents.

Hikmatyar and his accomplices backed by Pakistan and the United States, says the statement, intend to establish in Afghanistan an orthodox religious state to be ruled only by one extremist party. Regrettably, financial backing by the West makes a considerable contribution to stepping up armed operations and propaganda actions by Hikmatyar and other chieftains of opposition. His present trip over several West European countries serves precisely these aims of propaganda, notes the statement.

Iran's Steps to End 'Political Isolation' Viewed

NC1211135688 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 12 Nov 88

[(Aleksandr Batev) commentary]

[Text] World news agencies have reported that Iran and Great Britain have agreed on the resumption of full diplomatic ties. We invite you to listen to a commentary by our analyst (Aleksandr Batev), who writes:

Recently Iranian diplomacy has resorted to an offensive in various directions. As far as the major issue—the Iran-Iraq talks in Geneva—is concerned, it should be said that no perceptible progress has been achieved. However, clear progress can be seen in other fields.

REUTER has pointed out that the resumption of diplomatic relations between Iran and Great Britain on the ambassadorial level is the most recent step by Tehran to emerge from its political isolation. Previously, Iran had improved its diplomatic relations with France, Canada, Kuwait, and Bahrain.

Our commentator adds: I do not want to speak at this point about the reasons for Iran's political isolation. This isolation apparently stemmed from the consequences of the Iran-Iraq war, from some acts by the Iranian leadership, and from many other elements. I am raising this point because some of the said reasons have now been removed. So far, Iran and Iraq have achieved an end to the war and they are carrying out talks on solving issues concerning the war. This course of events is regarded favorably in many countries of the world and can, in turn, have a positive impact on the relations of these countries with Iran.

I think the change in the Iranian leadership's stand on relations with the outside world helps, first and foremost, toward the improvement of its relations with other countries. Recently Majlis Speaker Hashemi-Rafsanjani spoke in detail about the nature of these changes and said that Iran has given up its former policy of making enemies.

Iran's new stand—at least the one that has been officially stated—is coupled with improvement of the international atmosphere, that is, with the emergence of new trends. Of course, this new stand is welcomed warmly in the world and especially in Iran's neighboring countries. The visit by Iran's Deputy Foreign Minister 'Ali Mohammad Besharati to the Persian Gulf littoral states, which ended recently, was proof of this. He described the outcome of his talks as extremely constructive and useful. Meanwhile, it should be noted that even though a visit to Saudi Arabia had not been included in the Iranian official's itinerary, nevertheless, if recent statements in Tehran and Riyadh, and the steps being taken in both countries, are taken into consideration, one can conclude that it will nolt be long before the relations between Iran and Saudi Arabia improve.

(Aleksandr Batev) continues: While assessing the new trends that have emerged in relations among the Persian Gulf countries, I have reached the conclusion that genuine possibilities for creation of an atmosphere of sincerity, goodneighborliness, and cooperation in the region have been created. It should be noted that this trend is continuing despite the absence of perceptible progress in the Iran-Iraq talks in Geneva. I even believe that improvement of the situation in the Persian Gulf may have a positive impact on the outcome of the Iran-Iraq talks.

Our commentator concludes: Of course, the Soviet Union fully supports the easing of tensions in the Persian Gulf because this region is situation near the Soviet Union's southern borders. Our country is prepared to play a favorable role in the expansion of cooperation and in the consolidation of goodneighborly relations in this region. This was emphasized during the Soviet-Iranian talks in Tehran within the framework of the official visit to Iran by Aleksander Bessmertnykh, first deputy foreign minister of the Soviet Union.

RSFSR Paper Views Pakistan Election Issues

PM1511152188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[A. Vasin article: "Burdened by the Past. The Afghan Opposition and the Struggle For Power in Pakistan"]

[Text] Some 3 months ago now the cities and settlements of Pakistan were bedecked with banners showing the country's president, Ziaul Haq. However, in the short time that has elapsed since his death in an air crash, the picture of this man with the sharp glance and pointed mustache is rapidly receding into history. AFP reports that even the state press is keeping quiet regarding the dead general and the country's leading political forces are ignoring attempts by his son Ijazul Haq to develop "Ziaism."

But the most powerful blow to the ideological legacy of the former "Chief Martial Law Administrator" has been inflicted by the decision to hold party elections. The general election to be held 16 November for the National Assembly (the lower chamber of the parliament), whose results will in many respects determine the country's development path, will be the first since the military coup of 1977. The main struggle is flaring up between the Pakistan People's Party [PPP] headed by Benazir Bhutto, daughter of President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was deposed and executed by General Zia, and a coalition of rightist parties headed by the Islamic Democratic Alliance.

At the center of the debate now unfolding throughout the country at stormy rallies held by both groupings are the questions of establishing democracy and combating poverty and the problem of the Islamization of Pakistan begun on Ziaul Haq's initiative. It is very difficult to predict the results of the election to be held a week from now in a country like Pakistan, where thousands of conflicts and contradictions of an ethnic and religious nature are interwoven into a single mass and where the army keeps an attentive eye on events. However, it may be supposed that the general's political legacy hangs like a dead weight over the Islamic Alliance.

Realizing this, the authorities are performing all manner of machinations. Benazir Bhutto stated yesterday that they intend to use Afghan refugees in the elections. According to her, the authorities have circulated 5,000 false Pakistani identification documents among conservative Afghans in the city of Rawalpindi alone, which will enable them to take part in the election.

Presumably, this is happening with the approval of the leaders of the Peshawar opposition, who cannot fail to realize that if a democratic government comes to power in Pakistan it could become difficult for them to continue to exist in that country. Today they enjoy comprehensive aid from Islamabad, but what about tomorrow?

In a recent interview with NEWSWEEK, B. Bhutto said: "We adhere to the pledges that Pakistan has already made, since we believe that the Afghan conflict is in its final stages and nothing must be done to undermine that process."

Pakistani President's GOSR Greetings Published

PM1511160988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Pakistani president's greetings to Gorbachev on Soviet revolution anniversary]

[Text] To Mr Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Your Excellency,

The government and people of Pakistan join in my cordial congratulations and good wishes to your excellency and the government and people of the USSR on the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

We are firmly convinced that the development of relations of friendship and cooperation between Pakistan and the Soviet Union is fully in accordance with the interests and aspirations of our two peoples and promises considerable progress toward peace and stability in our region. We hope that the positive achievements which we have already made through joint efforts will accelerate this process in the future.

I take this opportunity to convey to your excellency my best wishes for your personal well-being, health, and happiness and wishes for steady progress and prosperity for the people of the USSR.

Please accept, Your Excellency, assurances of my very high esteem.

[Signed] Ghulam Ishaq Khan, president of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan

Proclamation of Palestinian State 'Symbolic'

LD1511214288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1545 GMT 15 Nov 88

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Igor Kudrin]

[Text] I would like to start the review with a piece of news that has been awaited for days: The creation of an independent Palestinian state on the Israeli-occupied Palestinian lands, with its capital in Jerusalem, has been proclaimed. The event took place in the Algerian capital, where the extraordinary session of the Palestine National Council, the supreme Palestinian legilsative body, is being held. [video shows Yasir 'Arafat speaking at meeting]

So, 15 November has become the national holiday of the Arab people of Palestine. The new state, said PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat, will be a parliamentary democracy, a multiparty system, based on freedom of opinion, freedom of religion, and equality between men and women.

Of course, comrades, you and I realize that the act of proclaiming the new state is of a symbolic nature, as yet. However, there is no doubt that the day will come when this state will begin its life on soil that for more than 2 decades now has been occupied by the Israeli military. Algeria has become the first country to recognize the independent Palestinian state.

Israel's Shamir Rejects PNC Session Decisions

LD1511142388 Moscow TASS in English 1401 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 15 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Albert Balebanov:

The extraordinary session of the Palestine National Council [PNC], which ended in Algiers last night, has really been historic: It proclaimed the formation of an independent Palestinian state, with its capital in Jerusalem, on the Israeli occupied Palestinian lands.

In its political statement, passed by a majority of votes, the Palestine National Council recognizes the U.N. Security Council's Resolution 242 on settlement of the Middle East crisis. The resolution, passed in November 1967, provides for the Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab lands, an end to the state of war, recognition of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the Middle East and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized fronters, without being subjected to the use or threat of force. The statement firmly denounces all forms of terrorism.

These decisions undoubtedly have great political significance, since they open up prospects for mutual recognition of Israel and the Palestinian state. The decisions, made by the Palestine National Council, underline such a possibility. Also important in this respect is the statement made by PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat, who reaffirmed that the new Palestinian state would abide by the principle of peaceful coexistence in its relations with neighbouring countries.

The decisions, taken by the Palestine National Council at a crucial time in the search for solution of the Middle East crisis, demonstrate the constructive approach of the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the prerequisites for a comprehensive settlement in the region through a balancing of the interests of all sides. On the other hand, the decisions taken by the Palestine National Council, remove the obstacles, raised by the United States and Israel, to the convocation of an international conference on Middle East settlement under the U.N. aegis.

Nevertheless, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir immediately rejected a possibility of recognising the Palestinian state, of negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab lands. Moveover, he threatened that his cabinet would exert every effort to put an end to the Palestinian uprising on the West Bank of the River Jordan and the Gaza Strip. U.S. President Ronald Reagan described the Palestine National Council's decisions as progress towards peaceful settlement in the Middle East and meanwhile underlined that a whole number of outstanding problems had yet to be resolved.

It appears that it is high time for Washington and Tel Aviv to make their contribution to removing the existing obstacles. Such a stand would promote a durable political settlement in the Middle East.

Saudi King Greets Gorbachev on GOSR Anniversary

*PM1611104188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4*

[Saudi King al-Sa'ud's greetings to Gorbachev on Soviet revolution anniversary]

[Text] To His Excellency Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

It affords me joy to convey to your excellency and the people of the USSR our cordial congratulations on your national holiday and our wishes for happiness and prosperity to you and to the entire Soviet people.

[Signed] King Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Sa'ud of Saudi Arabia

October Message From Lebanon's Junblatt

*PM1511112788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4*

[Message to CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev from Lebanese Progressive Socialist Party leader Walid Junblatt on October Revolution anniversary, published under the general heading "Congratulations to Soviet Land"]

[Text] To Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

On behalf of the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon and myself I am happy to send to you and your comrades in the Politburo and Central Committee of the CPSU as well as to all the Soviet people the most cordial congratulations and sincere wishes on the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The October revolution was the greatest event of the 20th century, whose significance for all mankind and for the ideals of humanitarianism and the cause of peace throughout the world has been confirmed by the course of history. Today, when marking the 71st anniversary of the October revolution, we are confident that the processes of restructuring and the transformations that are developing in your country will give a powerful new impetus to revolutionary development and will strengthen its progress.

We wish you new successes within the country and in the international arena and are firmly convinced that the bonds of friendship and cooperation between the glorious CPSU and the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon will continue to strengthen and develop.

[Signed] Walid Junblatt, chairman of the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon.

Sub-Saharan Africa

RSA Fails To Begin Namibia Pullout as Agreed

*PM1411152988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 Nov 88 Second Edition pp 1, 5*

[Vladimir Tyurkin "Correspondent's Commentary": "At a Decisive Stage"]

[Text] Luanda, 8 Nov—The date agreed upon at the quadripartite talks on a settlement in southwest Africa for beginning the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 on granting independence to Namibia—1 November—has passed without any moves being made in this direction.

As many observers predicted, there are still obstacles in the way of the resolution being implemented. It is impossible to begin preparations for elections to a Namibian constituent assembly under UN control in line with the resolution without first establishing peace in Namibia and the region as a whole. For this to happen, the appropriate documents on a settlement must be signed between Angola and Cuba, on one hand, and the RSA, on the other.

Meanwhile, the truce that has prevailed on the Angolan border and in Namibia on the basis of the Geneva agreements and other accords cannot be considered stable or reliable. The troops of the warring sides face one another on the old bridgeheads and are keeping their powder dry. The decisive step that would be followed by the introduction of UN troops and specialists into Namibia and the start of preparations for the elections has still to be taken. The moment of truth has come, as they say, in the task of reaching a peaceful settlement in southwest Africa. In this connection it is worth mentioning that the sides' positions have never been as close as they are now. Solutions have been found to the majority of disputed issues and the fundamental "principles of a peaceful settlement in southwest Africa" have been agreed for signing. The timetable for withdrawing Cuban troops from Angola has yet to be agreed. Allow me to remind you that at the start of the current round of talks Angola and Cuba agreed to withdraw their internationalists within 4 years in the event of a successful settlement in Namibia. The RSA insisted on 7 months. Today the positions are 30 and 24 months respectively. Will this gap be overcome? We will find out soon.

"Although 1 November was not the start of implementing Resolution 435, we still regard the situation with cautious optimism." This is the leitmotif of pronouncements by official Angolan and Namibian representatives these days. Many here believe that, despite Pretoria's attempts to prolong the settlement in order to strengthen the positions of its puppets and undermine the influence of the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO), the course of events is now irreversible.

Military failures by South African troops in Angola, the growth of the liberation movement in Namibia, the state of emergency in the RSA itself, the threat of increased international economic sanctions hanging over it, and the intolerable burden of military spending are forcing RSA ruling circles to look for a way out of the conflict. Apart from the far right, few people in the RSA doubt that the continuing aggression and occupation of neighboring countries is fraught with serious consequences for their country.

Pretoria has put forward 1 January 1989 as the new date for beginning the implementation of the UN decisions on Namibia. However, the statements of its representatives regarding the withdrawal of Cuban troops cannot fail to put others on their guard as to the nature of their real intentions. In other words, the task of settling the prolonged conflict in southern Africa has reached a decisive stage.

Somali President's GOSR Message to Gorbachev

PM1611103988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Somali president's greetings to Gorbachev on Soviet revolution anniversary]

[Text] To His Excellency Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

It affords me special honor and satisfaction to convey to your excellency and, through you, to the people of the USSR the warmest and most sincere congratulations from the party, the government, and the people of Somalia and myself on the joyful event of your country's revolutionary anniversary. I would express our best wishes for your excellency's good health and for the USSR people's progress.

[Signed] Mohamed Siad Barre, president of the Somali Democratic Republic

Mozambican GOSR Greetings to Leadership

PM1611113788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[Mozambican party and government greetings message to Soviet leadership bodies on Soviet revolution anniversary under the general heading "Congratulations to the Land of the Soviets"]

[Text] To the CPSU Central Committee

To the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

To the USSR Council of Ministers

The Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party Central Committee, the National Assembly Standing Commission, the Mozambican Council of Ministers, and the entire Mozambican people greet the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution with a sense of great respect.

The fraternal Soviet people, guided by the party of Bolsheviks headed by their immortal leader Vladimir Ilich Lenin, overthrew the dictatorship of tsarism and bore aloft forever the banner of freedom.

The casualties suffered and the blood shed by the people for the sake of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution made it possible for workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia under the leadership of the glorious CPSU to lead their motherland—the USSR—to prosperity.

We gratefully remember the solidarity and support given by the Soviet people, Communist Party, and Government to the Mozambique Liberation Front and the Mozambican people during the armed national liberation struggle. Today this solidarity is making the fraternal friendship and cooperation between our two peoples, parties, and governments even firmer.

The Mozambican people, who suffered innumerable casualties in a war imposed on them from without, are well aware of the cost of peace and welcome the role played by the Soviet Union in establishing peace and international security.

The Frelimo Party Central Committee, the National Assembly Standing Commission, and the Mozambican Council of Ministers fraternally greet the Soviet people, the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers and wish them new successes.

With great respect and esteem,

Frelimo Party Central Committee

National Assembly Standing Commission

Mozambican Council of Ministers

East Europe

Shcherbitskiy Meets Poland's Czyrek in Kiev

*PM1611140588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Meeting in Kiev"]

[Text] Kiev, 15 Nov—V.V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, met today with a PZPR Central Committee delegation headed by J. Czyrek, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. The delegation is in the capital of the Soviet Ukraine at the invitation of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

During a warm and comradely talk, V.V. Shcherbitskiy talked about the activities of the republic's party committees in carrying out the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. He dwelt on organizational party and ideological work under the conditions of the implementation of radical reforms of the economy and the political system and the holding of reports and elections in party organizations. J. Czyrek gave information about the situation in Poland, the PZPR's work in accelerating the process of socialist renewal and the democratization of society, and the preparations for the conferences of PZPR Congress delegates to be convened next spring.

The talk noted with satisfaction that, as a result of the implementation of the accords reached during M.S. Gorbachev's official friendly visit to Poland, cooperation between the CPSU and the PZPR and between the USSR and Poland has been further developed. In this respect the draft programs for cooperation between the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the PZPR Central Committee were discussed along with questions of setting up permanent contacts between the Ukrainian SSR and Poland at different levels. It was stressed that this will be of great importance for deepening Soviet-Polish ties and strengthening friendship between the peoples of the two countries.

W. Natorf, Polish ambassador to the USSR, took part in the talk.

The delegation members laid wreaths at the V.I. Lenin Monument the same day.

Wreaths were laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and at the tombs of Polish and Soviet servicemen who died defending the Ukrainian capital from fascist air attacks.

Leadership Sends Polish Jubilee Greetings

*PM1611141988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1*

[Soviet leadership bodies greetings message to Polish party and government leaders]

[Text] To Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish Council of State

To Comrade Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers

Dear Comrades!

On the 70th anniversary of the restoration of Poland's state independence the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, USSR Council of Ministers, and the entire Soviet people send you, the PZPR Central Committee, the Polish Councils of State and Ministers, and all Polish working people cordial congratulations and best wishes.

The road to the restoration of the Polish state was long and hard. Real prerequisites for the realization of the Polish people's age-old dream were created by the Great October Socialist Revolution, in which thousands of Polish citizens actively participated. The liberation of the country from the fascist occupation and the establishment of people's power opened a new stage in its history. Today Poland is a developed democratic country finding solutions to difficult socioeconomic problems by developing socialist society.

The boost taking place in our bilateral relations in all spheres of cooperation rests on the proximity of the goals and tasks of the restructuring taking place in the Soviet Union and the course of socialist renewal under way in Poland, and is based on the principles of friendship, brotherhood, equal rights, independence, respect, and mutual responsibility. The Soviet-Polish joint statement signed recently at the Warsaw summit defined new strategic avenues for international collaboration between the USSR and Poland, for bringing our peoples closer together, and for developing the entire range of Soviet-Polish relations.

On behalf of the Soviet people, the CPSU, and the Soviet Government we wish you, dear friends, and all working people of People's Poland successes in socialist renewal, happiness, and prosperity.

The CPSU Central Committee

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

The USSR Council of Ministers

Polish Independence Anniversary Marked

PM1211142788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Notable Date"]

[Text] A public meeting marking the 70th anniversary of the restoration of Poland's state independence was held in Moscow 10 November.

The path to the rebirth of the Polish state, speakers noted, has not been an easy one. The Great October Socialist Revolution, in which tens of thousands of Polish citizens played a direct part, gave a powerful boost to the realization of the Polish people's cherished dream. The country's liberation from fascist occupation and the establishment of people's power opened a new page in its history. It was stressed that present-day Poland is a developed, democratic country finding the solution to difficult socioeconomic tasks on the path of socialism.

It was noted that Soviet-Polish relations in all spheres of cooperation are buttressed by the closeness of the aims and tasks of the radical transformations being carried out in our country and the course of socialist renewal being pusued in Poland, and are based on the principles of friendship, fraternity, equal rights, independence, respect, and mutual responsibility.

G. Pallayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and other officials participated in the meeting.

W. Natorf, Polish ambassador to the USSR, spoke at the meeting. A delegation of Lomza PZPR Voivodship Committee headed by committee First Secretary M. Czerniak was present.

On the same day W. Natorf arranged a friendly meeting to mark the notable date.

G. Pallayev, the leaders of a number of ministries and departments, and representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations attended.

'Illegal' Demonstrations Held in Poland 11 Nov

LD1211161388 Moscow TASS in English 1537 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw November 12 TASS—Celebrations to mark the 70th anniversary of the restoration of state independence were held across Poland on Friday.

According to PAP news agency, attempts to disrupt them made in a number of cities by numerous groups of youths and extremist elements, who put forward nationalist and anti-socialist slogans, looked as a challenge to the patriotic feelings of Poles against the general background of measures marking the anniversary.

The newspaper TRIBUNA LUDU writes that the groups of adventurers advancing the slogans of "Confederation of Independent Poland" in one of the districts of Gdansk were especially aggressive. Urged by the law-enforcement bodies to stop the illegal street demonstration after a service at St Mary Cathedral, they replied with stones, detonators and petrol bombs. In Katowice attempts were made to provoke the law-enforcement bodies. There were cases of violation of public order in Krakow and Wroclaw.

In Warsaw after an evening service at the St John Cathedral, a column of demonstrators headed for Victory Square where a political meeting was staged. In particular, nationalist and anti-Soviet slogans were made at it. After the laying of wreaths at the tomb of the unknown soldier groups of rampaging youths made attempts to violate public order. They were cut short by militia.

PZPR Politburo Examines Workers' Role

PM1111132388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Nov 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Strengthening Ties With the Masses"]

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Nov—The strengthening of the worker nature of the party and the stepping up of workers' influence on political, economic, and social life is a most important avenue of party work. This was stressed by the PZPR Central Committee Politburo during a discussion at its latest session on the results of the national conference of worker activists and meetings between secretaries of plant party committees from the country's largest enterprises.

The speeches at the national conference of worker activists, which was a representative forum of workers, the report states, gave a comprehensive impression of workers' opinions on the most important economic, political, and social problems. There was sharp criticism of the economic situation in the country and dissatisfaction with the results of the changes. The idea of roundtable discussions won the conference participants' approval. And it was stressed that compromise cannot be reached at the price of rejecting the reforms and bold decisions on streamlining the economy. There was also a prevailing conviction that one strong trade union organization independent of the administration and open to all working people should now operate at enterprises.

Avenues of preparations for a conference of PZPR delegates were also discussed. The approaching PZPR Central Committee plenum, which will focus attention on the changes taking place in the party, will be an important stage in preparations for the conference, the session noted.

Poland's Orzechowski Cited on Soviet Reforms

PM1411095388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[Reports by own correspondents V. Tyurkin and O. Kitsenko and TASS under the general heading: "Along the Road of Peace and Progress"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Warsaw, 8 Nov—The Great October Socialist Revolution is of epoch-making significance, M. Orzechowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, has emphasized. Speaking at a public ceremony in the Polish capital marking the 71st anniversary of Great October, he said that the revolution is alive now, its impulses invariably prompt thought and action, and its guiding slogans have not lost their significance even today.

The PZPR Central Committee secretary pointed out that Europe and the whole world are today appreciatively following the restructuring under way in the Soviet Union, which is serving with renewed force to implement the aims and ideals of the October revolution. Restructuring, he said, is an innovative reading by its creators of the Leninist analysis of the modern world's development trends. The new political thinking is the logical and, at the same time, creative continuation of Leninism. In the process of the Polish reforms and the Soviet restructuring, relations between Poland and the Soviet Union have already attained a new quality and will be constantly subjected to radical, all-around renewal. M.S. Gorbachev's official friendly visit to Poland in July of this year and its exceptional climate of cordiality and friendship created new creative preconditions for this. [passage omitted]

'New Period' of Polish-Soviet Friendship

PM1411135188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[Dispatch by Polish writer Zbigniew Safjan under the rubric "Foreign Publicist's Platform": "October Foundation"]

[Excerpt] Warsaw, November—[passage omitted] Because of their historic destiny the Polish people feel past losses particularly deeply. This concerns not only many aspects of the country's internal development but also international, including Polish-Soviet, relations. Let us frankly state that there is no more important issue in Polish politics than Polish-Soviet friendship. It had and has now strong bases and a monolithic foundation. The October revolution in Russia was a decisive factor in the emergence of independent Poland in 1918. To a very considerable extent this was why also during the years of the Hitlerite occupation we looked with special hope to the east. The Soviet Army brought us freedom. The building of the new Polish state and the security of its borders—all this could not have been realized without the USSR's assistance.

As a result, all preconditions for a repeat of the negative aspects that had arisen earlier in our joint history have vanished. But the peoples' awareness is being restructured considerably more slowly than political, material, and other conditions are changing. I would say that there is still a complex in the Polish public's awareness that prevents them from fully feeling their independence and sovereignty. I would put this down to the tragic epoch of Stalinism.

Now that the Soviet-Polish Joint Historians Commission is functioning, now that wide currents of information and experience are moving in both directions, that barriers have been destroyed, and the full possibility of realizing all the best things laid down by the October revolution's victory has arisen, we have, in my opinion, entered a period of true accomplishments. We are gladdened by the new literature, whose boldness and openness are sometimes even astounding. It is pleasing that Polish books, particularly those devoted to serious national problems, find a mass readership in the Land of the Soviets.

We are undoubtedly entering a new period of fraternal relations. It could prove very complex and not free from disputes (this too is fine!), but it will certainly produce results and to a considerable degree be close to the ideas of great October.

Stalinism in its Polish variant created a certain little world in which myths supplanted the truth. There was the myth of like-mindedness, which probably distorted Leninist ideas most profoundly. Through the lips of dogmatists each new leading program proclaimed what were supposedly the only absolutely right decisions, which were not held in the slightest doubt. And if anyone was opposed to them, he was at once declared a revisionist or a dissident encroaching for all intents and purposes upon the state's foundations.

But we have managed to return to the ideas of great October, which ensure the dynamism of social development, glasnost, the right to one's own thinking, and rejection of the monopoly on imposing ideas. In other words, everything that ran counter to the spirit of October and served as a brake on our development has been swept aside. An abrupt "civilizing" turn has been made. A new young intelligentsia has grown up in Poland, as in the USSR. It is, as it were, rediscovering the world for itself, it has good vision, and it has an excellent opportunity to compare, contrast, and participate vigorously in the process of socialist renewal. The entire system of power-society relations has changed. Progressive processes are now intensively striking root.

Poland is overcoming a crisis. It is seeking ways to national concord and unity—not outward and for show but profound and real. We are proposing our own concepts of socialist development, in elaborating which all who recognize our constitutional principles can participate. The unusual and bold way in which the new methods of economic and political management are being introduced is also a consequence of October's life-asserting force. Restructuring, whose experience has assumed special significance for us Poles, also has its origins in October. Restructuring is strengthening faith in the future.

The history book contains a special, extremely vivid October page. And we must be happy that this page is in the history of our peoples. We derive from October's ideas both today's boldness of quest and the charge of purposefulness in everyday building and reformation, and we sense in them a constant powerful source of our deepening Polish-Soviet friendship.

Shcherbitsky Receives Visiting Slovak Leader

LD1111074988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1930 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Comrade Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, today received Salgovic, member of the of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Slovak National Council, who is leading a delegation of the council visiting Kiev at the invitation of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

During a warm, friendly conversation it was noted with satisfaction that the coincidence of the course of the CPSU and the CPCZ for deep transformations in the economy and in public life—on a basis of the comprehensive development of socialist democracy—is opening new perspectives for cooperation between the USSR and CSSR. It was stressed that establishing permanent contacts along parliamentary and government lines—between the Ukrainian SSR and the Slovak Socialist Republic—will have a positive effect on the development of the economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation among the republics and on deepening contacts between oblasts and cities, rayons and work collectives and public organizations in the Ukraine and Slovakia.

The same day the delegation was received by Comrade Shevchenko, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Reports Yazov SFRY Visit

PM1611142388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "On an Official Visit"]

[Text] Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense left Moscow for Belgrade 13 November on an official friendly visit at the invitation of Colonel General V. Kadijevic, SFRY federal secretary for national defense.

He was seen off at the airport by N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister; Army General Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, and Army General V.M. Arkhipov, USSR deputy defense ministers; Fleet Admiral A.I. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; and other officials.

The send-off party included M. Veres, SFRY ambassador to the USSR.

Army General D.T. Yazov arrived in Belgrade the same day.

He was met at the airport by Col Gen V. Kadijevic and other officials.

The welcoming party included V.F. Maltsev, USSR ambassador to the SFRY.

Belgrade, 14 Nov—A meeting has taken place here between Army General D.T. Yazov, USSR minister of defense, who is in Yugoslavia on an official friendly visit, and Col Gen V. Kadijevic, SFRY federal secretary for national defense.

During the talks, which were held in a friendly atmosphere, the sides noted with satisfaction the successful development of USSR-SFRY cooperation. It was emphasized that M.S. Gorbachev's official friendly visit to the SFRY last spring gave a strong boost to relations between the two countries and parties.

Questions connected with further strengthening ties and contacts between the Soviet Armed Forces and the Yugoslav People's Army were discussed. It was pointed out that they are underpinned by the glorious traditions of the combat cooperation between the two countries' peoples in the struggle against a common enemy during the years of World War II and that USSR-SFRY cooperation along military lines serves the interests of strengthening world peace and international security. There was an exchange of information on problems of military building in the USSR and the SFRY, including on questions of training and educating personnel.

V.F. Maltsev, USSR ambassador to the SFRY, participated in the talks.

The Soviet military delegation visited the J. Broz Tito memorial complex and laid a wreath at J. Broz Tito's gravestone. Wreaths were also laid at the Monument to the Unknown Hero, the monument to the Soviet military leaders who died tragically in an air crash in 1964, and the memorial cemetery for the Soviet and Yugoslav servicemen who fell in the fighting to liberate Belgrade.

Army General D.T. Yazov visited a mechanized brigade in the Yugoslav People's Army. He familiarized himself with the course of the Yugoslav servicemen's combat training, visited classrooms, met with the formation's command, and made an entry in the honored guests' book.

The USSR defense minister viewed a permanent exhibition of Yugoslav People's Army armament and combat hardware at Nikinci and also visited the D. Djakovic Production Association in the city of Slavonski Brod.

Hungarian Premier Warns Against 'Anarchy'

PM1411124188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Nov 88 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Seeking New Methods. Speech by K. Grosz"]

[Text] Budapest, 12 Nov—MTI reports that a plenum of Pest MSZMP Megye was held 11 November and was addressed by K. Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers. He pointed out in particular that party organs must now seek new work methods, but also ensure that this process is not transformed into anarchy. The influence of the crisis is felt more strongly in the economic sphere, where the development of production has not been sufficient to match the pace of world scientific and technical progress, an obsolete production structure has become entrenched, and the practice has taken shape of distributing income that has by no means been produced. The current system of political institutions does not accord with the current demands for the democratization of social life. Changes in this sphere are needed in this regard. Today renewal primarily requires an analysis of the current situation and to this end an assessment of the past, however difficult it may be. This self-analysis should be carried out in such a way as to strengthen confidence in the party, K. Grosz stressed.

Paper Describes Hungarian Plenum Documents

PM1411131388 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Listening to the World"]

[Text] Budapest, 4 Nov—The documents adopted at the MSZMP Central Committee Plenum which took place 1-2 November have been published here.

The MSZMP Central Committee resolution on the domestic political situation and the party's tasks points out that substantial changes have taken place in the country following the Hungarian National Party Conference—the activeness of party organizations has been stepped up and the process of broad reform of the system of political institutions has begun.

At the same time, the document says, the party and state leadership's position is becoming more difficult because of the need to simultaneously struggle both to overcome the consequences of previous mistakes and also to resolve present-day problems. The sense of uncertainty in society is intensifying in connection with the impossibility of attaining the aims proclaimed at the previous—the 13th—party congress, because of promises not kept over the last 15 years and frequently unfounded prognoses.

The resolution indicates that the just requirements of various strata of the population cannot be satisfied in a short time owing to the lack of material resources. The conditions for this may be created only by effecting a turnaround in economic policy and consistently implementing economic reform.

The document mapped out the Communists' main tasks in broadening democracy and glasnost, strengthening intraparty unity, and boosting the prestige of the MSZMP. The MSZMP is the kind of political force, the resolution stresses, that can elaborate and consistently implement a program for the Hungarian people's national development and unite the forces acting in the interests of reform.

The interests of the working class must be perceived more strongly in the process of adopting and implementing decisions. Only an agrarian policy based on interest and according with the demands of restructuring can guarantee the confidence of agricultural workers. The call of the time cannot be answered without cooperation with the intelligentsia. That is why the attitude to the intelligentsia is not tactical but strategic in character.

In the current political situation, unity rather than division is needed. The MSZMP advocates implementing its leading role under the conditions of a one-party system. The party considers it natural to create various political organizations in accordance with the clauses of the constitution. It will determine relations with them in light of their activity and programs. The party desires cooperation, political alliance, and coalition with those forces that advocate the renewal of socialism and the development of the nation. It resolutely opposes the forces that run counter to the socialist social system, constitutionalism, and the allied political system.

The MSZMP Central Committee resolution on economic questions stresses that this year economic processes are on the whole being shaped in accordance with the program for socioeconomic stabilization. There are at the same time trends within the economy that are complicating the implementation of this program.

MSZMP Politburo Views Demarcation of Tasks

PM1011152388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Important Decisions"]

[Text] Budapest, 9 Nov—Questions linked with the procedure and methods of work of the MSZMP Central Committee and Central Committee Politburo and the tasks of the MSZMP Central Committee working commissions, consultative organs, and apparatus have been examined at a session of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo held here. These questions will be submitted for examination by a Central Committee plenum.

The session deemed it advisable to clearly demarcate the functions of leading party organs in order to ensure that the Central Committee is the supreme party organ with regard to decisionmaking, administration, and monitoring during the period between congresses or conferences, while the Politburo concentrates its attention on preparing and executing decisions, together with current political questions.

West Europe

'Money' Prompts W. Europe Arms Collaboration

PM1411161588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Nov 88 First Edition p 5

[Vladislav Drobkov "Viewpoint" article: "Home and Extension"]

[Text] The defense ministers of 13 NATO and "Common Market" states assembled in Luxembourg within the framework of the Independent European Program Group have agreed to expand cooperation in the sphere of the planning, production, and purchasing of modern armaments. A decision was made to organize a permanent secretariat and two commissions under the Independent European Program Group to directly handle these problems. An "action plan" was approved for three major joint programs: the creation of a "European fighter," a spy satellite, and a combat support ship.

Our Western neighbors would thereby like to build onto the "common European home"—whose construction is advocated by our country and a number of other states—a kind of "extension" where they can start producing the most modern types of weapon.

What prompted the Independent European Program Group states—Belgium, Britain, the Netherlands, Greece, Denmark, Spain, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Portugal, Turkey, France, and the FRG—to take this step? The notorious "Soviet threat"? Hardly. After all, as Western leaders themselves have said—one would like to think, sincerely—the foreign policy pursued by the USSR in recent years has become far more peace-loving, constructive, and predictable. Thanks to the efforts of the Soviet and U.S. leaderships the first-ever elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles has been begun in Europe. The numerous initiatives by the USSR and its allies aimed at resolutely reducing levels of military confrontation on the continent and creating nuclear-free zones there are also well known. And opinion polls show that the majority of West Europeans do not believe in possible "aggression from the East."

So what is behind the plans for such a high-profile expediting of close cooperation in the sphere of arms production? Above all, money. Big money. This year alone the West European NATO countries' spending on new weapons will be approximately $60 billion. The lion's share of this money will go to U.S. corporations. The fact is that the United States has become the main weapons factory for its partners—something that even the most committed NATO supporters on this side of the Atlantic have often complained about. By building up their own cooperation, they would like to limit this dependence and get a bigger slice of the military cake for their own industrialists.

The second desire of the Independent European Program Group is to cut spending on the creation of new types of weapons by making maximum use of West European industrial and scientific potential, eliminating duplication in research, and standardizing NATO armaments. This aim is particularly often trumpeted by the advocates of West Europe's further military integration as promising to ease the defense burden.

Both these arguments, it strikes me, are capable of influencing West European public opinion, which has grown weary both of U.S. domination in NATO military policy and of large-scale military spending. However, the question is how effective the Independent European Program Group will be as a lever in resolving these problems. I do not think that U.S. weapons concerns will give up without a fight any of their positions on the long list of arms supplied by them to West Europe. And their output, as attested by NATO research, is often more competitive than European products. It is hardly right to expect a rapid reduction in military spending. Modern weapons development is an expensive business—the projected "European fighter" alone is priced at $47 billion.

In this situation it would be more circumspect, in my view, to weigh up once again all the "pros" and "cons" for creating a militarist extension. People should see whether it will distort the emerging contours of the "all-European home." Will it impede its construction? Recognizing the existence of certain imbalances in NATO and Warsaw Pact armaments, our country and its allies propose honestly eliminating them and striving for military equilibrium—if this is still necessary for the time being—at the lowest possible level. This way seems the most sensible. True, it does not promise any particular profits for the weapons manufacturers. On the other hand, it is quite capable of safeguarding Europe's genuine security interests.

UK Foreign Secretary on Upcoming Gorbachev Visit

LD1611074188 Moscow TASS in English 0728 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] London November 16 TASS—The British Government wants to maintain efficient relations with President Gorbachev and his colleagues and wishes them every success, particularly in perestroyka of the national economy.

This was stated in an ITV interview on November 15 by British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Geoffrey Howe, replying to the question of what the British Government expected from the forthcoming visit to Britain by general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Mikhail Gorbachev.

Meanwhile, the British foreign secretary stated that London intended, as before, to make emphasis on discussion of the question of human rights.

Thatcher Cited on Soviet Reform, Western Defense

LD1511103488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2145 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Text] London, 15 Nov (TASS)—Margaret Thatcher, prime minister of Great Britain, has declared her support for the reforms taking place in the Soviet Union. Addressing representatives of business circles in the city of London, she said: "We have to continue to support changes and reform in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe. We want to see these countries more prosperous, with the people able to enjoy a greater share of the goods things in life."

At the same time, M. Thatcher repeated the British Government's well-known position which amounts to the military might of the West having to be strengthened despite the fact that the international climate is getting warmer. She called upon the countries of the West to show vigilance and stated that Britain adheres firmly to the idea of "maintaining and modernizing her defense forces." "For the West nothing would be so shortsighted as unilaterally dooming its armed forces to neglect at the first sign of more peaceful and stable relations between East and West," she said. On the eve of her visit to the United States, which is to begin today, she praised President R. Reagan, saying that he had restored the West's self-confidence.

Dealing with the problem of Western European integration, she called upon the EEC member countries to display "an example of economic freedom." At the same time, she resolutely repeated her opposition to the concentration of power in the EEC and stressed that economic integration must not restrict the sovereignty and national independence of the countries that belong to the Common Market. "Actions being carried out jointly must not necessarily mean an intensification of centralized control in Europe," she said. She expressed solidarity with Washington's position, noting that the lifting of customs and other trade barriers in the EEC in 1992 must not lead to an increase in West European protectionism.

UK Writer's Book on Soviet Military Viewed

LD1511191888 Moscow TASS in English 1719 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 15 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov:

"Top-secret plan of aggression", "plan of Turkey's seizure by the Soviet Union"—such "sebsautibak" captions were frontpaged by the right wing Turkish newspaper "TERCUMAN". When reading such captions one is inclined to think: Could it be that some overzealous editor mistakenly retrieved from files cliches dating back some 20 years? No, falsehoods about the "plans of the seizure of Turkey" are dated today, although, as materials of the "TERCUMAN" show, they originated not in Turkey but in Britain...

It is precisely in London, in the JANE's DEFENCE data publishers that the book entitled "Red Banner" written by Christopher Donelly, director of the Soviet Studies Centre of the Royal Military Academy in Sandhurst, has just been brought out. We do not set ourselves the task of giving a thorough and all-round analysis of these writings. We should only note that on the whole the book of Mr. Donelly, as reports of the British press also confirm, is couched in quite a definite spirit and is largely aimed at renewing in new conditions the old falsehoods about the alleged "Soviet military menace".

The author asserts, specifically, that it will take no less than ten years to alter the Soviet offensive doctrines and tries to intimidate the readership with the USSR's huge military potential and repeats hackneyed allegations that the Soviet Union tries to split the West and so on and so forth.

As we see, the postulates with which Mr. Donelly operates are nothing new. Definite Western circles linked with NATO and opposing in every way the tendencies toward the improvement of the international climate resorted to such postulates in the past, specifically, trying in this way to "bring an impact" on the public of those countries that maintain and develop goodneighbourly relations with the USSR.

So the publication in the West, specifically in Britain, of another book with allegations about the "Soviet military menace" is not surprising. What is surprising is why a canard about "Moscow's perfidious designs" with regard to Turkey, that was created on the banks of the Thames was picked up in Turkey. Whom do these "imported" publications of "TERCUMAN" newspaper suit, whose purpose do they serve? In any case, they do nothing to strengthen Soviet-Turkish relations that are good and that developed evenly and successfully.

Ryzhkov, Silayev Receive FRG Businessman

PM1511145988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Conversation in Kremlin"]

[Text] N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received H. Liebherr, head of the West German machine building company Liebherr, in the Kremlin on 14 November. During the conversation satisfaction was expressed at the successful beginning of the work of the Kranlod joint mobile crane producing enterprise, which has been set up in Odessa. It was noted that this form of collaboration in the production-sharing sphere offers extra opportunities for deepening mutually beneficial cooperation between the two countries and for increasing commodity exchange between them.

There was also an examination of possible areas for the further development of cooperation between Sovet machine building enterprises and the Liebherr company in the manufacture of production equipment and consumer goods.

Taking part in the conversation was I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

U.S. Anti-Terror Units in FRG Discussed

PM1611105188 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 15 Nov 88 p 3

[Article by Aleksandr Tolin under the "Commentator's Column" rubric: "Feeling at Home..."]

[Text] How sovereign is the FRG? This question may seem strange and unwarranted if you consider the FRG's role in international affairs. But that is precisely how many people—politicians, trade unions, and the public—are putting the question today on the banks of the Rhine. The revelations of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] weekly VORWAERTS generated a particularly stormy reaction in the country. It is a case of the U.S. special NEST subunits stationed on West German territory and designed to combat so-called "nuclear terrorism."

VORWAERTS made public the content of "reserve plan 4367/87" elaborated by the U.S. military command. It emerges that these special subunits, subordinated to the U.S. Department of Energy, can in particular during nuclear and other catastrophes on FRG territory, use weapons against subversive elements and introduce press censorship. In other words, they can interfere in matters and events within the competence of the West German authorities.

It should be said that the first rumors of the existence of the U.S. special subunits had begun to emerge after the tragic accident in Ramstein (the demonstration flights at the U.S. Air Force base cost 69 lives). For instance, it is asserted that because of the stationing of the U.S. special unit there difficulties arose in organizing rescue operations.

Bonn initially denied the authenticity of the information which had leaked but after a while the defense ministry admitted through a spokesman that consent to the stationing of NEST special teams had been given back in 1976. But, as can be seen from the opposition's accusations, it is still not just a question of these teams. Thus, H. Daeubler-Gmelin, deputy chairman of the SPD, has stated that the violation of FRG sovereignty is also manifested in the stationing of U.S. combat helicopters at the Wiesbaden-Erbenheim air base and the expansion of the military airfield near Offenburg where the U.S. command operates despite the position and the protests from local West German authorities.

But what about H. Kohl's government? It continues to deny the opposition's claims that FRG sovereignty is being infringed. Nonetheless the chancellor was obliged to state that he intends to raise the question of the rights of the allies' armed forces stationed in the country if its sovereignty proves to have been encroached upon in individual fields. In this connection the question arises: How realistic is it to expect concessions and understanding from its partners across the ocean? The FRG public is sounding the alarm. The demand to review existing treaties with allies is being heard increasingly loudly.

Central Committee Greets Portugal's Cunhal

PM1411125188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[Soviet Central Committee anniversary congratulations to Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the Portuguese Communist Party]

[Text] To Comrade Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the Portuguese Communist Party [PCP]

Dear Comrade Alvaro Cunhal!

The CPSU Central Committee cordially congratulates you on your 70th birthday.

People in the Soviet Union know you well as an inflexible revolutionary, a brave fighter against fascism and for peace, democracy, and the social renewal of society, as a staunch Marxist-Leninist, a true patriot of your homeland, and a convinced internationalist.

The development and strengthening of the fraternal ties between the CPSU and the PCP and of the friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation between the Soviet and Portuguese peoples is an important contribution to the common struggle of Communists and other peace-loving forces for a nuclear-free world, the preservation of the earth's civilization, and for mankind's comprehensive progress. We value highly your contribution to strengthening relations between our countries, peoples, and parties.

We wish you, dear Comrade Cunhal, good health and great successes in your noble activity for the sake of peace, the interests of working people, and social progress.

The CPSU Central Committee

Cunhal Awarded Order of Lenin

PM1411153588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree: "On the Award of the Order of Lenin to Comrade Alvaro Cunhal, Secretary General of the Portuguese Communist Party"]

[Text] Comrade Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the Portuguese Communist Party [PCP], is awarded the Order of Lenin for his services in the struggle against fascism and in the struggle for social progress, peace, and democracy, for his great contribution to strengthening the friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Portugal, and in connection with his 70th birthday.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

The Kremlin, Moscow, 9 November 1988

Statement on Turkish Communist Leaders' Arrest

LD1511171588 Moscow TASS in English 1609 GMT 15 Nov 88

["Statement by Soviet Public Committee"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow November 15 TASS—The public commission for international cooperation on humanitarian issues and human rights at the Soviet Committee for Euorpean Security and Cooperation today released a statement here demanding the immediate release from prison of Haydar Kutlu, general secretary of the Turkish Communist Party, and Nihat Sargin, general secretary of the Worker's Party of Turkey. The statement emphasizes that the underground arrest of Turkey's prominent politicians who intended to return openly from emigration to the country to mount the legal activity of the United Communist Party there, and also life imprisonment which they face do not promote the cause of humanizing international relations and creating a "single European home".

"Both Turkish politicians were subjected to unlawful actions in prison up to the beginning of the trial on June 8, 1988, they were limited without grounds in their rights of political prisoners", the statement says. "And this takes place in conditions when statements are made at top level in Turkey to the effect that the Communist Party should take its place in the country's democratic political system".

The document stressed that the Europarliament, many political parties in the world, and public organisations declare for giving Nihat Sargin and Haydar Kutlu an opportunity to carry out freely legal political activity. A humane act of setting them free would signal one more success for the policy of new thinking in the nuclear and space age.

Soviets Concerned About Austrian EC Membership

AU0711175888 Vienna NEUE AZ in German 7 Nov 88 p 4

[Interview with Prof Dr Vladimir Pankov of the Moscow World Economy and International Relations Institute by Peter Smutny in Vienna: "Soviet Economist Pankov: 'Austria Will Rather Become Atlantic....'; USSR Objections to Possible Loss of Austrian Neutrality in Case of EC Entry"—date not given]

[Text] NEUE AZ: What is the USSR's attitude toward Austria's possible entry into the EC?

Pankov: The Soviet Union's official attitude expresses concern. Many advocates of EC membership in your country do not want to see the negative aspects.

NEUE AZ: What is most disquieting?

Pankov: In the first place, Article 4 of the State Treaty prohibits any economic and political union with the FRG, as well as agreements that promote such a union or impair Austria's independence. The interpretation of the State Treaty is the duty of the signatory powers. But the USSR has not explicitly referred to Article 4. It is far from taking a hard line toward Austria. Chancellor Vranitzky was not unjustified in saying before his visit to Moscow: "I go to meet friends."

NEUE AZ: What would be the advantages of Austria's entry into the EC from the point of view of its advocates?

Pankov: The pressure of competition advocates structural adaptation; prices are falling, economic growth is accelerating. But even if this is so, it is not certain that Austria will adapt itself successfully. One advantage is the reduction of trade barriers that are not created by tariffs.

NEUE AZ: And what are the disadvantages?

Pankov: Austria will have to pay 6 to 8 billion schillings into the EC funds, but it will get far less from the regional and social fund than it gives away. So far, it has been possible to regulate the influx of guest workers; then Germans and Spaniards would come, too. Austria will have to subsidize agriculture to the tune of 25 billion; presently the figure is only 9.3 billion schillings. Small agricultural enterprises will not be able to survive. The move away from agriculture [entbaeuerlichung] will be accelerated. In a situation of crisis, Austria will no longer be able to supply itself with agricultural products.

NEUE AZ: And what are the political objections?

Pankov: It is difficult to preserve sovereignty in its present form, because in the EC there are strong tendencies toward political and military integration. Kohl proposed a European army. The Soviet Union, however, objects to the possible loss of Austria's neutrality. It would be a pity if Austria were to lose its function as a mediator between East and West. Austria has made a considerable contribution to the fact that we have had peace in Europe for such a long time, it has also made a major contribution to detente in the seventies.

NEUE AZ: Put in concrete terms, how could Austria lose its neutrality?

Pankov: For example, the economic aspects that I mentioned before lead to dependence, they impair political sovereignty. It would be very alarming if the EC were to become a European support for NATO. But the Austrian Government recognizes this danger.

NEUE AZ: Professor, referring to the subject of restructuring and glasnost, when will the first successes in reform emerge?

Pankov: In the first half of the nineties. Already now, financial and material means are being diverted toward the consumer goods industry, in order to improve supplies to the population.

NEUE AZ: What are the effects of restructuring on the enterprises?

Pankov: We are at the beginning of economic reform. The relationship between central state planning and independence is being reorganized. So far, only 50,000 of the 24 million types of goods produced have been centrally planned anyway. But the enterprises had too many of their decisions taken for them. Now, only part of the production program consists of binding state orders—products that are economically important. The other part is planned by the enterprises themselves. The enterprises have to break even, make profits, and invest in modernization. Economic accounting has been introduced.

NEUE AZ: What is done with the profits?

Pankov: Interests and operational costs will be paid out of the gross profit. Part of it is paid to the state; this differs from one branch of industry to the other. Money is paid into three enterprise funds: The fund for science, production, and technology; the social fund, which is available to kindergartens, recreational facilities, and housing construction; and the fund for material stimulation, that is, additional pay. Pensions are paid exclusively by the state. There are no social insurance contributions.

NEUE AZ: In what way does participation in the management take place?

Pankov: It has been neglected so far. The staff have suffered from alienation and lack of motivation. Now the works managers—on all levels, up to the director general—are elected for 5 years by the staff, and in large enterprises by electors. At present, there are elected works managers in one-fifth of the enterprises. Managers who are not suited can be dismissed.

NEUE AZ: Is private trade permitted?

Pankov: Half a million people carry on such trade as their main or secondary occupation. Taxes have to be paid for it. By the way, in addition to the agricultural kolkhozes, there are new forms of cooperatives in the sectors of services and production. Since October 1988, 700,000 people have been active in the new cooperatives. This sector was long neglected, because of the dogmatic ideas of Stalinist voluntarism. The cooperatives are permitted to place shares but may sell them only to their own members.

NEUE AZ: What will become of foreign trade?

Pankov: There are still problems with regard to pricing. Our prices have not yet been adapted to the world market. The price reform will be carried out in 1990.

NEUE AZ: Is a multiparty system being considered?

Pankov: We believe that the one-party system is still capable of major development if there is greater parliamentary democracy. By the way, the CPSU can envisage cooperation with the SPOE.

Latin America & Caribbean

Radio Interviews Nicaraguan Deputy Minister

PA1011012688 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 2300 GMT 9 Nov 88

["Exclusive interview" with Nicaragua Vice Foreign Minister Victor Hugo Tinoco by Moscow correspondent Antonio Septien; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Septien] What is the status [proyeccion] of the latest Central American summit in El Salvador?

[Tinoco] The meeting was originally scheduled for 12 November in San Salvador. The date was chosen by Guatemalan President Vinicio Cerezo while on a tour of Central American countries during which he obtained a consensus on the date. However, at the last minute, the Salvadoran Government said the meeting should not be held on 12 November, but proposed it be held in late November, and after that, there was talk about holding it in December. It seems then, there has been repeated postponement of the meeting, basically at the request of El Salvador, and partially at the request of Honduras.

However, no matter when this meeting is held, we believe it should be held; that the Central American presidents should meet; and that it is important for them to meet in light of the U.S. elections. They must realize that stability and peace in Central America depends to a great extent on efforts of Central American rulers. The United States is applying pressure to establish a military base in Honduras for subversion and destabilization of Nicaragua and for actions against the Salvadoran revolutionary movement. Despite that, Honduras knows this type of policy affects its own stability and the stability of all Central America, and we believe Honduras is aware it must contribute to the Central American peace effort.

Oil Exports to Nicaragua Reportedly Increase

PA1411221388 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 2300 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Text] Nicaragua receives 70,000 tons of oil from the USSR each year. This was announced by Indiana Gonzalez of the Nicaraguan Institute of Energy. Gonzalez said the USSR came to Nicaragua's help and increased its oil shipments after Mexico and Venezuela reduced their shipments as a result of their own economic problems.

Komplektov Receives Latin American Envoys

LD0911230988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1535 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, 9 Nov (TASS)—Viktor Komplektov, USSR deputy foreign minister, received today the heads of the diplomatic missions of Brazil, Venezuela, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay, Argentina, and Colombia, at their request. On the instructions of their governments, they handed over the text of the "Uruguay Declaration," the final document adopted at the conference of presidents of the countries of the "Rio de Janeiro Group" that was held in Punta del Este in Uruguay at the end of October. The parties to the converstion unanimously noted that positive changes in the situation in the world are taking place and regional conflicts are being unblocked, and that the Latin American states are also making their contribution to this. In this connection, the Soviet side put a high value on the "Uruguay Declaration," and also reaffirmed its willingness to further extend its dialogue with Latin America on the key questions of disarmament and security, on the subject-matter of international economic relations, and other questions of mutual interest.

Political & Social

Academicians Differ on Multiparty System

No 'Trust' Held for System

PM1511154788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Doctor of Juridical Sciences Professor B. Lazarev, sector chief of the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute, under rubrics "Two Viewpoints on a Key Question" and "Your Opinion? We Discuss the Draft Laws on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and Elections of USSR People's Deputies" and general heading "Out of the Past Into the Future": "Merits of Innovations are Indisputable"]

[Text] I am meeting with many people right now—speaking in labor collectives and talking with the technical intelligentsia and my lawyer colleagues. So I hear different opinions on the draft laws. The more meetings I have the more obvious an initially unlikely thought becomes to me. It seems to me that a considerable number of people, including specialists, simply do not understand the proposed innovations. Acutally, what's really surprising about that? People who have become accustomed over decades to specific forms welcome the unusual with difficulty and caution. Well, let's just take the creation of a new organ of power—the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR. Some people, including my lawyer colleagues, believe that the formation is artifical and they are voicing fears that it will not become an effective, operating organ of supreme power. Accordingly, proposals are voiced here for keeping the Supreme Soviet in its present form, limiting ourselves merely to reducing the number of deputies in it.

But let's turn to the history of our state. What was the supreme organ of power at its sources? The Congress of Soviets of the USSR, consisting of delegates who were elected at provincial congresses of soviets and in republics which were not divided into provinces at congresses of the soviets of these republics. The congress was an organ with a very large number of members. Meeting initially once a year and then twice a year, the congress usually lasted a week and examined and resolved the most important questions of the country's development and heard reports from the government—the Soviet of People's Commissars. And in the period between congresses the supreme organ of power was the Central Executive Committee, which had two chambers—the Union Soviet and the Soviet of Nationalities—and had over 500 members. The USSR Central Executive Committee had its own presidium which was, in the period between sessions, the supreme legislative, executive, and managerial organ of power of the USSR. The USSR Government—the Soviet of People's Commissars—was the executive organ of the Central Executive Committee and at that time had the right to publish laws (decrees). So this system of organs, and a system far more complex than the one now proposed in the draft, for a long time served as the effective instrument of the power of the people. Its effectiveness was reduced only under the conditions of the Stalin personality cult which took shape in the thirties and the related tyranny and disregard for the laws.

But how did the system of the country's supreme organs of power which existed before 1937 arise? It was not born speculatively. It was formed on the basis of experience accumulated in the soviet republics before they were united in the union. So many people simply do not know their own history. Yet as we can see, this history had highly effective organs of power which are being restored in a certain sense now.

Some scholars and readers addressing their proposals to the newspaper editorial offices assert that an extensive Congress of People's Deputies (of 2,250 people) will not work but will merely hold sessions and meetings and so forth. For a start, let's take a look at the numbers. In planning any scheme of state leadership it is necessary primarily to consider that the supreme organ of power must be genuinely representative. That means having a sufficiently broad composition. There is probably no need to explain how important this is for countries with large populations—like ours. Experience shows that **even more extensive all-union congresses of soviets have not merely held meetings but have been organs of power which really worked.**

In addition it is proposed that the standing commissions of both chambers and the committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet will include many of the deputies who in a particular year were not elected directly to the Supreme Soviet. Add to this the annual renewal of the Supreme Soviet by one-fifth, prompted by the desire to ensure that deputies are not kept away for too long from their main work place (the introduction of an institution of professional deputies would contradict our traditions) and we can see that there is more than enough work for all USSR people's deputies. **The Congress of people's deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet will be the dual supreme echelon of the system of representative organs of Soviet power.** Here I shall note in passing that the Supreme Soviet, which in its new version has been turned into a permanently operating all-union legislative, managerial, and controlling organ, will be entirely subordinate to the Congress.

Now about the post of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Some people express themselves particularly sharply. Various arguments are put forward but they basically come down to the fear that too great power will be concentrated in the hands of one man, placing the leader above all other organs of state rule. Well, each person can have his own viewpoint and it is better for us to persuade each other than to "block" a different opinion. That is democracy. So let's take a look at the main arguments of this kind. Will the powers of the chairman be extensive? Is it possible in principle to use them to harm the state and society? Does the actual status of chairman not contradict the nature of the soviets?

It is proposed that the chairman should submit reports on the state of the country and domestic and foreign policy to the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet. But surely this is not wielding power? These reports, under conditions where the CPSU is the ruling party, are the result of collective thinking and will serve as a form of party influence on the activity of the supreme representative organ of power.

In addition, let us nonetheless not forget that by recommending its general secretary for the post of chairman of the Supreme Soviet the CPSU is exercising party control over its activity.

The next point. According to the draft, the chairman will submit nominations for appointment or election to many top state posts. But does this have anything in common with, for instance, the individual [yedinolichnoye] formation of the president's "team?" No. Cadres questions, as before, are subject to preliminary examination at the CPSU Central Committee. Once again **the chairman of the Supreme Soviet and CPSU Central Committee general secretary will set forth not a personal but a collective viewpoint.** Here it is the decisions of the Congress and the Supreme Soviet which acquire legal force. So the chairman's right to submit nominations is of an important but nonetheless purely procedural nature.

It is also proposed that the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet will head the Defense Council. But here too there is nothing new. CPSU Central Committee general secretaries previously headed this organ. Until now this duty has been assigned them on the basis of a special decree, now it is assigned directly by virtue of the Constitution.

Next. The draft law gives the chairman the right to conduct talks and sign USSR international treaties. The general secretary has in many cases already done this but formerly the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium had to give him one-off powers, now this need is obviated. After all, once again, it must be considered that the CPSU leader will be accepted in the international arena as the Soviet "Number One" and foreign delegations taking part in summit talks are usually headed by people who are at the same time leaders of the ruling parties and heads of state or government.

As a whole, as the 19th all-union party conference noted, **the institution of the post of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet accords with the consolidation of the legal nature of power and the better representation of the Soviet Union in world affairs.** Incidentally, it follows from article 119 that the presidential powers are not transferred to the chairman but remain with a collegiate organ—the Supreme Soviet Presidium.

In addition to everything else, don't forget the following point. The draft contains the norms for electing the chairman at the Congress from among the people's deputies by secret ballot. And for no more than two 5-year terms. He can be recalled at any time by the Congress and is accountable to the Congress and the USSR Supreme Soviet. Surely this does not give grounds for fearing that authoritarian power will be strengthened, as it seems to some of my interlocutors and opponents?

I don't think it does. Just as I do not believe that under the conditions of our one-party system the chairman's accountability to the supreme organs of power, envisaged by the law, can easily be turned into an empty formality. No, we cannot put our trust in a multiparty system. There are other, far more reliable, guarantees. Even now it is no rarity for a deputy to vote "against" when the USSR Supreme Soviet is adopting decisions through open ballot. In a secret ballot there will be even more boldness. And surely the appointment and possible replacement of the chairman through secret ballot (and that is the only way these procedures should be conducted) is an additional legal guarantee of the deputies' free expression of their opinion?

We shall not forget either determining factor. Alongside the democratization of the life of society, the processes of the democratization of the internal life of the CPSU and the methods of its leading activity and the elimination of all kinds of deformations are developing. The further they go, the higher the prestige of the party will be in the eyes of the working people and accordingly fewer pretexts there will be for putting the question of introducing a multiparty system in the USSR. The complex system of social interests and the pluralism of interests can fully be expressed by a one-party political system with numerous organizations belonging to it, each of which has its specific function.

The selfsame authors of letters to the central newspaper editorial offices sometimes propose giving no power at all to the Supreme Soviet chairman, but here they insist on his election by nationwide ballot. But this position is strange to say the least. If the chairman is absolutely powerless, why should he be elected by the entire people?

The creation of a new model for the top echelon of state power will require the solution of many specific organizational and legal questions and the creation of new legislative acts. Of course, it will only be possible to definitively judge the merits and shortcomings of the new model when it starts to work and when definite experience is accumulated.

But even now it can be seen that the scheme proposed by the draft has a number of undoubted merits, the main one being the combination of broader representation with the permanently operating nature of the supreme echelon of Soviet power.

Multiparties 'Key' in Socialism

PM1511144988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Doctor of Legal Sciences B. Kurashvili, leading scientific staffer of the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute, under the rubrics "Two Viewpoints on a Key Question" and "Your Opinion? We Discuss Draft Laws on Amendments and Additions to USSR Constitution and Elections of USSR People's Deputies" and the general heading: "Supreme Power: Out of the Past Into the Future": "Innovations Give Rise to Doubts"]

[Text] Virtually everyone is talking and arguing about these two documents—the draft laws—now. They are comparing them with the existing legislation and seeking confirmation of their hopes in the new provisions. And I would probably not be wrong to say that the main attention is now being focused on the new elements in the system of the organs of power. There are three such elements at the union level: the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee. At the republic level there are the congress and the chairman. And at the local level (the oblast, city, and rayon) there are the soviet chairman and the presidium.

How are these innovations being received?

The creation of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee deserves all possible support. It has long been needed so as to exclude from society's life the not so rare instances of the adoption of "unlawful laws" and government and department resolutions which are contrary to the law. Local soviet presidiums are also certainly necessary: They will free the soviets from tutelage and sometimes also from commands issued by their own ispolkoms.

As for the new elements of the Congress of People's Deputies and the chairman of the soviet, here, in my view, not everything is so clear-cut.

First of all, the chairman of the soviet. I believe that this is not an organizational-technical, prestigious, or merely procedural figure with limited powers (a "speaker")—but a political one. Furthermore, a figure who is so important that party committees, guided by the 19th all-union party conference's decisions, will try to place their first secretaries in this post (which does not preclude rank and file Communists or non-party people from occupying this post, although it does make it unlikely). **Thus we are faced with a post with great individual [yedinolichnyy] powers.** In terms of his powers the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet is, for example, close to a president with individual powers [yedinolichnyy prezident]. After all, he individually [yedinolichno] proposes candidates for the supreme offices of state and they cannot be appointed without his personal approval. In brief, he forms "his team" at the helm of power.

What is the consequence of this? The figure of the individual administrator [yedinolichnyy rasporyaditel] rises above the soviet. Until now there has been a collegial organ—the soviet presidium. The chairman of the presidium did not have individual powers [yedinolichnyye polnomochiya] outside of it, he "ruled" only within the collegium. Of course the presidium is retained now, too, but its role is sharply reduced by the introduction of the post of the chairman of the soviet (let us not forget that he is simultaneously chairman of the presidium). Important and, one might say, decisive powers are transferred from the presidium to the chairman. Is this not a change from collegiality to one-man leadership [yedinonachaliye]?

Such a thing exists in neither the party, the administrative, nor the judicial system. Everywhere "top people" head decision-making collegiums—party committee bureaus, the government, ispolkoms, courts, and so forth. Nowhere do these people act as individual leaders [yedinolichnyye rukovoditeli]. Suddenly an exception is made for the soviets, to which it is least suited.

The post of chairman of the soviet looks particularly odd at the highest level. With the introduction of this post the question arises: Isn't the process of the intensification of authoritarian power going too far? It is entirely possible for a president with individual powers (or his equivalent) to be an element of a democratically organized system of supreme organs of power. But only if he is overseen by a parliament. And in order to ensure the effectiveness of parliamentary oversight, what is needed, obviously, is a multiparty system and therefore a parliamentary opposition. But what we are trying to do is to institute a post equivalent to that of president, but under a one-party system.

Provision is made, it is true, for the chairman's accountability to the Supreme Soviet. However, we have examples in our recent history showing how easily such accountability is transformed into an empty formality, into a periodical opportunity to greet the leader's reports and his very appearance with tumultuous, prolonged, sustained applause developing into an ovation, and so on and so forth. So the post of president with individual powers cannot be introduced in our country before a socialist multiparty system—one of the key elements of the future developed socialist democracy—is created and firmly established. However, we have not yet reached this level of development. So it is worth anticipating events?

Nor can I see any serious need to institute a new supreme organ of state power—the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, which is called upon to form the USSR Supreme Soviet from its membership (the same applies at republic level). In my opinion, this is an artificially conceived organ. An organ in the nature of a rally rather than a working organ. An organ reminiscent of the Assembly of the Land [Muscovite parliament in the 16th-17th centuries] but on a much larger scale, of course. It creates a semblance of broad representation. However, the Congress will not be able to replace referendums, the holding of which we are successfully avoiding by having failed to elaborate and include in the draft law even basic organizational principles for holding them. In addition society is deprived of a directly elected normal parliament and receives in return a strange combination of what could be described as a "superparliament" and a "subparliament."

Would it not be better to have just one normal parliament? Especially as it is now to become a real working parliament, which is greatly to the credit of the authors of the draft law.

Preparatory Commission on Draft Law Meets

Lukyanov at 9 Nov Session

PM1111133588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by special correspondent M. Kushtapin: "Nationwide Examination; Deputies' Preparatory Commission Is Operating"]

[Text] Over 71,000 comments, proposals, and remarks have already reached the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium during the nationwide discussion of the drafts of the law on changes and additions to the USSR Constitution and the law on elections of USSR people's deputies. Every letter and every opinion is being attentively analyzed and studied here in specially created working groups of the deputies' preparatory commission. It has been formed by the legislative proposals commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities.

The first session of the deputies' preparatory commission, which examined remarks and proposals on the drafts under discussion, took place in the Kremlin 9 November. Taking part were the Supreme Soviet Presidium chairmen of the Belorussian, Uzbek, Georgian, Armenian, and Estonian SSR's, representatives of party and soviet organs and public organizations, and legal scholars.

The speeches delivered by leaders of the commission working groups and deputies stressed that the overwhelming majority of authors of letters to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium fully approve the draft laws and assess them as specific and very important steps for the restructuring of the political system outlined by the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Real full power for the soviets of people's deputies, the formation of a socialist rule-of-law state, a new structure for the supreme organs of state power, alternative elections, the independence of judges—that is a far from full list of the questions around which working people's letters conduct an active, committed polemic.

Indeed, polemics also occurred at the deputies commission session. The point is that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium received a telegram from the representatives of the Estonian People's Front disagreeing with the drafts under discussion and raising the question of how these documents should be withdrawn from discussion and not approved at the forthcoming session as they do not accord with the decisions of the 19th party conference and infringe on the interests of sovereign republics. The commission deemed it necessary to invite to its session not only the chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and a secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee but also representatives of the republic's People's Front. The talk was frank, specific, and businesslike and during it the deputies reached the unanimous conclusion that the deferment of the approval of these draft laws would substantially delay the entire course of restructuring since it is a case of the first and most essential steps to consolidate the power of the soviets in the democratization of the electoral system, without which it is impossible to proceed further.

The polemics showed that during the discussion of the present draft laws many proposals are emerging concerning those sections of the USSR Constitution which go beyond the framework of the proposed changes and additions and affect aspects of life like the economic system, citizens' rights, freedoms, and duties, and the national-state structure. The constitutional enshrinement of the new relations emerging here is a longer process which requires additional working over, with consideration for the objective conditions of restructuring.

The deputies preparatory commission agreed with a good dozen of the amendments and additions to the draft laws prepared by the working groups on the basis of working people's proposals and remarks and instructed that the in-depth processing of the incoming mail be continued and intensified so that the draft laws should reflect not only the opinion of the majority but also of the minority and everything promoting the improvement and enrichment of future laws.

A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central COmmittee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, took part in the commission session and addressed it.

The nationwide discussion is continuing. The next session of the deputies preparatory commission is scheduled for 14 November.

'Stormy Debates' Noted

PM1511181188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Special correspondent M. Kushtapin "Report From the Kremlin": "Important Amendments, Including on Elections of People's Judges"]

[Text] A routine session of the deputies' preparatory commission for the generalization and examination of materials relating to the nationwide discussion of the USSR draft laws on changes and additions to the USSR Constitution and on the election of USSR people's deputies was held in the Kremlin 14 November.

The commissions attentively analyzed the proposed amendments and clarifications drawn up by the deputies' commission working group on the basis of letters and proposals from working people, party, soviet, and state organs, social organizations, press articles, and radio and television programs.

It must be said that the deputies had stormy debates on many of the points of the articles. For instance, why can a state arbitrator not be a deputy, while the chairman of a people's control committee has to be? Or another question: Soviet citizens aged 18 have the vote, yet only people over 21 can be elected USSR people's deputies. Young people believe that this infringes their civic rights; the right to elect also presupposes the right to be elected. Can it really be fair to have the situation arising, for instance, when a teacher and director of a large association are elected to the USSR Supreme Soviet. Each would retain the average salary paid at their main place of work. But since different deputies will have different salaries, they will be getting different amounts of pay for equal work in the USSR Supreme Soviet...

Each amendment, clarification, and change to a formulation was strictly examined at the preparatory commission session. If the working group leaders were unable to persuade deputies of the expediency and necessity of a certain formulation the commission members instructed experts and specialists to study the question again in order to ensure that it corresponded both in form and content as deeply as possible to the spirit of the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and took into account and reflected public opinion as fully as possible.

The appeal to public opinion and the thousands and thousands of letters arriving every day at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and published in the central and local press is a marvelous feature used with equal success at the session by both specialists and commission members. It was gratifying to note that each time session participants' views diverged the view which ultimately prevailed was that of the tens of thousands of Soviet people who were not in attendance but who had deemed it their civic duty to actively participate in the discussion on the draft laws. Their voice was decisive in the hall where the deputies' commission session was held.

Incidentally, the deputies approved a considerable number of proposed amendments unanimously. The amendment to Article 152 of the USSR draft law on Changes and Amendments to the USSR Constitution, for instance. The deputies' preparatory commission proposes the following version of the second paragraph of this article: "People's judges in rayon (city) people's courts shall be elected by the corresponding superior soviets of people's deputies." That was how the question was framed at the 19th party conference. Only on this condition will judges be independent of local organs of power, so the overwhelming majority of letter writers believe.

The amendments approved by the deputies will have to pass one further examination—they will have to be ratified by the Legislative Proposals Commissions of both USSR Supreme Soviet chambers.

The deputies preparatory commission is continuing work. The next session is scheduled for 18 November.

New Constitutional Draft Laws Considered

Radio Program Discussion

LD1411143888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 13 Nov 88

[Program entitled "We Are Discussing the New Draft Laws", presented by V. Konyukhov, commentator and candidate of historical sciences, with R.G. Yanovskiy, rector of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Sciences, and D.A. Kerimov, head of the Soviet state construction and law faculty of the same Academy]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Konyukhov] Why should public organizations be separated from the rest of the electorate? Aren't our constitutional laws breached when delegates to congresses and conferences or participants in plenums of public organizations in effect vote twice: In their own constituency, at their place of residence, and at a forum of a public organization. What is your reply to such a question?

[Yanovskiy] I think that the question has a place here. This is indeed a question that has to be resolved somehow. There exist democratic rules on the universality of the electoral law: On equal and direct elections conducted by secret ballot. If we take the road of electing deputies from public organizations...

[Konyukhov, interrupting] As is proposed by the draft law.

[Yanovskiy] Yes, that's quite right—then we, to put it mildly, are violating this democratic principle. It is probably possible to avoid this in some way. I, personally, can think of two possibilities. First, if the voter participates in elections through public organization then he doesn't take part through the constituences.

[Konyukhov] Well, that has to be specified somehow in the draft.

[Yanovskiy] Probably. Or perhaps there is another alternative. Public organizations, at their congresses, conferences and so on, nominate candidates...

[Kerimov, interrupting] Recommend them, you mean.

[Yanovskiy] Yes, nominate candidates for deputies, or recommend candidates for deputies. But the elections themselves are held in the usual procedure, although in the mandates...

[Konyukhov, interrupting] By the territorial principle?

[Yanovskiy] Yes, by the territorial principle in the constituencies. But it would be stipulated in the mandates themselves that these deputies have been recommended by public organizations. But the elections themselves would be held in the general procedure. This is, perhaps, an alternative solution to this problem. [passage omitted]

[Konyukhov] There is another provision which often crops up in the views of people discussing the new draft laws. They ask, for example: Why is it not possible at the present time to go over to direct, secret voting at all levels, including the head of state?

[Yanovskiy] First and foremost, the USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman must not be equated with the president in capitalist countries. We are dealing here with quite different functions and different legal positions on the part of these persons.

[Kerimov] Under socialism public ownership fundamentally changes the position of the first person.

[Yanovksiy] Quite right. The chairman of the Supreme Soviet is the supreme official. He carries out overall leadership by preparing matters to be examined by the congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet. In other words, he carries out all of the organizational work for the activity of the supreme organs of state power, in particular, the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet. And for this reason it is quite natural that he should be elected by the Congress of People's Deputies.

[Kerimov] But I have to add that the party has made a proposal, and it is a leading party, a ruling party...

[Konyukhov, interrupting] Which is, by the way, written in the Constitution.

[Kerimov]...the party put forward one candidate, because we didn't currently have an alternative, that is there was no other candidate, equal in strength to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, in the power of his intellect, his understanding of politics, understanding of the relevant situation...

[Yanovskiy, interrupting] and authority

[Kerimov]...and authority. His moral quality, his knowledge of internal and international problems. By virtue of this we put forward one candidate and the Supreme Soviet adopted this. And we consider that this is correct because it's simply obvious. [passage omitted]

'Unacceptable' Changes Noted

WA18000138 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 29 Oct 88 p 3

[ETA report: "A Meeting in Tartu"]

[Text] A meeting of chairmen of rayispolkoms and ispolkoms from cities of republic subordination in the Estonian SSR took place on 28 October in the Ratushe in Tartu at which the draft USSR Law on Changes and Additions to the USSR Constitution (Fundamental Law) was discussed.

Those present at the meeting underscored the extraordinary importance of the planned changes and additions to the USSR Constitution and called upon all inhabitants and labor collectives in Estonia to express their own opinions on the draft actively and with a sense of responsibility. Here they noted the undemocratic nature of the fact that the all-union republics were not involved in drawing up the draft. The virtual denial in the draft of sovereignty for the all-union republics and their treatment not as national states but merely administrative-territorial units, the essential curtailment of electoral democracy hidden behind wordy praise, and the reinforcement of unequal representation for the union republics in the resolution of all-union questions are unacceptable.

The chairman of the Tartu rayispolkom R. Nyrarska, chairman of the Rakvere rayispolkom L. Kalyuvee, and chairman of the Yygeva rayispolkom P. Saksing who spoke at the meeting stated that at sessions of their rayon soviets of people's deputies it had also been noted that the draft that has been published limits the rights of the union republics.

Those present at the meeting concluded that the provisions in the draft exclude independent resolution of questions in the sphere of the economy and the cultural and social sphere and thus the possibility of realizing the principles of IME.

It was deemed essential to convene extraordinary sessions of the local soviets before 15 November in order to discuss the draft. Deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet must be involved in the discussion. Those present at the meeting proposed to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and all deputies of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet that an extraordinary session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet be convened before 20 November.

A proposal was also submitted to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium that in the discussion of the draft, cooperation be developed with organs of power in the other union republics and that work be accelerated on questions connected with an All-Union Contract [dogovor] and that a draft All-Union Contract be published. It was deemed essential that the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium form from among representatives of the union republics a commission to conduct further work on constitutional issues.

Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau candidate member and first deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers A. Soydla took part in the work of the meeting.

RSFSR Supsov Candidates' Views

18000143 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
10 Nov 88 p 2

[Article by special correspondents A. Kondrashov and M. Kushtapin: "A Pre-Election Campaign? Why not..."]

[Text] As the press reported earlier, elections to replace outgoing deputies to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet were held 23 October in 19 of the Russian Federation's districts. The result of these elections in the Lyubertsy city district No 71, Moscow Oblast was that not one of the three candidates received enough votes (IZVESTIYA, No 295, 300). The district election commission had to conduct a runoff election. It was held last Sunday. S. Mikheyev, general designer at the Ukhtomskiy Helicopter Plant, became a deputy to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet (61 percent of the votes). A. Dolgolaptev, laboratory director at the Mining Institute imeni Skochinskiy received 34.5 percent. A. Leonov, milling machine operator at the Agricultural Machine Building Plant imeni Ukhtomskiy, did not participate in the second race because he had the least number of votes in the first.

So, what do these three citizens of Lyubertsy, who already have experience in a pre-election campaign for the deputy's mandate—something that is still unusual to us—think about the draft laws submitted for public discussion? This is the question with which our interview began in the Lyubertsy City CPSU Committee.

[A. Dolgolaptev] When I read the draft elections law, I was proud to see that it is based totally on the scenario of our elections in Lyubertsy. There is perhaps not a single point in it which did not have a bearing on our experience.

[V. Mikhaylov, first secretary of the Lyubertsy City CPSU Committee] The runoff election was an enormous help to us. Given the situation that came up on 23 October, according to the existing law we would have had to hold the election all over again. Convene and approve district and precinct election committees again. Nominate, discuss and register deputy candidates. Conduct the campaign. Now it just takes a week to prepare for a runoff election for the two candidates with the largest number of votes. When it comes to raising hands in favor of this new point in the draft election law, I raise both: It is something necessary when there are several candidates running for the same deputy seat.

[S. Mikheyev] A runoff election makes the election procedure much easier. But it would be better to have just a single election. This could be done with any number of candidates by giving the election to the one with the most votes. In this connection I would propose deleting the phrase "over half of the votes" from Article 55 of the draft law and leaving the second paragraph of the article reading as follows: "The candidate for USSR peoples deputy who receives in the election the majority of the votes of the voting electorate wins the election."

[A. Dolgolaptev] I support Sergey Viktorovich. Fifty percent of the votes is a very high ceiling when there are several candidates.

[V. Mikhaylov] I'm opposed. A deputy should represent a majority of his electorate in the Supreme Soviet.

[A. Leonov] Only 24.8 percent of the electorate voted for me personally, as an example. This is embarrassing, of course. But I feel that it was not my fault alone. My agents and campaigners did not work as well.

[Correspondents] What do you mean, Aleksey Aleksandrovich? As far as we are aware, your campaigners were generous with warm and creative words in your behalf, and in the heat of the campaign Sergey Viktorovich's campaigners referred to you as nothing less than a "workingman's designer."

[A. Leonov] Words are words, but the leaflets on Sergey Viktorovich and Anatoliy Vasilyevich were written and printed far better than the ones on me. But I was put out most of all by the fact that for two entire weeks when I went to the plant I had to look at Anatoliy Vasilyevich's picture on an election poster hung up in my own hallway, of all places. My poster did not appear until the last days before the election. And the photograph on it was so bad that one woman looked at it and said aloud: "You can see right away from this picture that this is not the kind of candidate who'll talk with people."

[A. Dolgolaptev] I was not concerned at all with posters and leaflets. My campaign committee did everything on its own. I know that the issue of financing the campaign was decided by the council of the labor collective.

[S. Mikheyev] Every deputy candidate should enjoy equal possibilities in regard to those leaflets, posters and other forms of pre-election campaign materials. Article 12 of the draft law needs to be made more specific. First of all it hardly differs at all from Article 10 of the present law. And second, it does not account for the changes occurring in either the economic or the social life of society. A labor collective should have a certain amount of money for these purposes, to be used in an aggressive campaign for its candidate. Where is this money to come from, under what budget item should it be recorded, and how much should be granted?

[Correspondents] Could you offer us your own version of Article 12 in the draft law?

[S. Mikheyev] I'm not prepared to do so at the moment. But I'm firmly convinced that the term "at state expense" needs to be made more specific with regard for the factors I mentioned previously.

[V. Mikhaylov] The recent election was more aggressive and tumultuous than ever before. The voter turnout was 97.7 percent. To be honest we were worried that it would be difficult to maintain the same kind of interest in a runoff election. But this Sunday as well, 97.6 percent of the voters turned out. As you can see, the citizens of Lyubertsy have not lost interest in elections. On the other hand consider the capital's Oktyabrskiy district No 39 as an example, where a total of 75.31 percent of the electorate voted for a candidate running unopposed. The figures speak for themselves. Consider also that this was in a situation where the city party committee and executive committee were casual observers throughout the entire election campaign.

[A. Leonov] Could it be that the city party committee and executive committee were casual observers because the electorate had decided to get active on its own? In former times, everything was the other way around.

[V. Mikhaylov] That's what I'm getting at. We also used to think that if the city committee did not do the organizing, if it didn't make the suggestions, or give advice, people wouldn't know how to vote or who to vote for. But life is breaking down our stereotypes.

[Correspondents] A question to all: Is three candidates too many for voters?

[All present] Too many.

[A. Dolgolaptev] There could be an unlimited number of applicants, but the vote should be limited to two candidates. It's not good when there is only one candidate—there's no choice to be made in such a case. That's why voters are indifferent. But when there are too many candidates, voters may also become indifferent about the elections.

[A. Leonov] When there are two candidates, people think more about who to vote for.

[S. Mikheyev] Many candidates means dispersing effort and money and, as a consequence, the need for a runoff election. But the draft provides a possibility for avoiding this. Take as an example Article 38, "District Pre-Election Meeting." This is the stage in which participants of the meeting could recommend for registration, out of the myriad of applicants, just two candidates whose programs appear to be the best.

[S. Mikheyev] The draft of the new elections law foresees one other possibility for this. According to Article 41, the labor collective or the meeting of voters that had proposed a candidate for deputy may at any moment prior to the election withdraw his candidacy.

[A. Dolgolaptev] There is one thing in the new document that still has me worried: nomination of deputy candidates by public organizations. It is evident from Article 39 that such nomination will occur at plenums of their all-union organs. This means that everything will be decided at the top level. It is not hard to guess who they'll propose for candidacy first.

[A. Leonov] Clearly the chairmen and secretaries of these organizations.

[S. Mikheyev] We would hope that public organizations will nonetheless carry on their elections in the manner of ours in Lyubertsy. The laws and the times are not the only things that are changing. The people, the voters are changing as well.

Lithuanian Movement on Constitution Changes

LD1511132088 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0100 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Summary] The 220 elected delegates of the assembly [seimas] of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring [LMR] held their first session today. The main issue on the agenda was approbation of the draft amendments to the republican Constitution. The amendments were proposed by the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences and approved, with some corrections, by the Constitution Committee of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet. Next week, draft amendments to the republican Constitution will be discussed and approbated by the republican Supreme Soviet at its regular session.

Heated discussions emerged around the issue of Article 6 of the Constitution, which deals with the leading role of the Communist Party. Some delegates proposed abolishing this article because, according to them, the Communist Party has compromised itself to such a degree that there is currently a crisis of no confidence in the Communist Party. Others argued that to leave the article as it is will violate nothing and will only place greater responsibility on the Lithuanian Communist Party.

The possibility of setting up other political parties by law was proposed by some deputies. Romualfas Ozolas said that if the amendments to the Constitution were approbated by the republican Supreme Soviet, we would achieve democratization of our state, which at present would be unprecedented in the Soviet Union. It would have a great significance not only to Lithuania, but would radically change the political situation throughout the baltic republics. Other republics look at Lithuania with hope because it is the only republic with genuine possibilities to achieve its aims.

Brazauskas at Lithuania Creative Union Conference

LD3110212788 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Text] Today one of the biggest halls in Vilnius, that is the Trade Unions House of Culture, was the venue of the joint meeting of representatives of Lithuania's creative unions. The topic on the agenda was: ideology and culture. Taking part in the meeting were about 700 representatives of different fields of creative activity: writers, artists, composers, architects, theater and cinema people, and journalists.

The idea to convene such a meeting emerged some time ago. On the move of the Writers Union, it was accepted that it would adopt a resolution during the Lithuanian Communist Party leadership to call an extraordinary party congress. This issue indeed was on the agenda for quite some time.

This problem was also raised during the plenum of the party's Central Committee which was held exactly a week ago and changed the first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party. It was also voiced during the two press conferences given by party leaders after the party plenum.

In the opinion of the party leadership the plenum had blasted the dam and created an outlet for various problems that had accumulated behind it. The election of Algirdas Brazauskas the first secretary automatically resolved a number of problems, while the rest were the matter of strenuous everyday work.

The representatives of creative unions were no doubt conscious of the altered suggestion. Already in the first speeches the idea to convene an extraordinary congress was discarded and the speakers concentrated on the most urgent cultural problems and the way to solve them.

A speech was made by First Secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Algirdas Brazauskas, which was warmly greeted by the participants [in the conference]. He pointed out that the ideas voiced by speakers coincide with those of his, and that this made him happy. He highly assessed the role played by the intellectuals in the process of stepping up public's activity; it has been observed since the summer.

The intelligentsia has been the driving force which led the society to the congress of the Lithuanian Reform Movement, an event of [word indistinct] importance.

Algirdas Brazauskas stressed that party Central Committee was resolved to work shoulder to shoulder with all people of good will and good wishes. Algirdas Brazauskas made a brief review of the present composition of the present Central Committee and the Central Committee Bureau and acknowledged that intellectuals were obviously too scarcely represented there.

An extraordinary party congress which can introduce changes in the composition of the Central Committee is, however, an extraordinary event and must be very well prepared. Meanwhile, the current election campaign which is now in the stage of district party conferences is captured by inertia. According to first secretary, the Central Committee will take measures to influence this process.

The party leader also dealt with the preparation of the Constitution. He admitted that the draft of Lithuania's constitution and the draft Constitution of the Soviet Union published in the press contain fundamental contradictions. He also pointed out that the draft constitution of the Soviet Union ran counter to the ideas proclaimed by the 19th All-Union Party Conference and Mikhail Gorbachev. He also said that Lithuania would forward relevant proposals to Moscow.

Algirdas Brazauskas reaffirmed and emphasized his idea voiced during the congress of the Lithuanian Reform Movement that the plans of people and of the nation are plans of the party. As is known it has been hitherto vice versa in this slogan.

Algirdas Brazauskas said that this new thesis has aroused a great interest of Western journalists who interviewed him in the past few days.

The meeting of representatives of creative unions adopted a resolution which contains no demand to convene an extraordinary congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party.

Court Adjourns to Deliberate on Sumgait Trial

LD1611033988 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] The USSR Supreme Court has adjourned the hearing of the cases of three Azerbaijanis accused of organizing and taking part in riots, arson attacks, and killings in the town of Sumgait, near the Azerbaijani capital Baku, in February. Thirty-two people died in the riots in Sumgait.

The court is now deliberating to return a verdict for only one of the three defendants, Akhmedov, who is 24 years old. The state prosecutor demanded the death penalty for him, and his lawyer from Sumgait pleaded for a prison term. If the court supports the prosecution's case, it'll pass the first death sentence of the Sumgait trial.

Before the prosecutor's speech, the injured party—relatives of the Armenians who were killed—lodged an appeal for an additional investigation of the case before the Supreme Court. Veben Urshtuni, a lawyer from Yerevan, said that they had lodged the appeal for additional investigation for the following three reasons. Akhmedov must be charged under Article 57 of the Penal Code of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, providing for punishment for agitation with a view to inciting ethnic hostilities. The prosecutor's office failed to charge him under that article, although in February, Akhmedov was using a loudspeaker calling on the mob to kill Armenians.

Second, all crimes that were committed must be thoroughly investigated in order to establish what made them possible, and why the militia took no action, while the Army confined themselves to patrolling the streets, short of taking stronger action.

And third, the cases of two of the three defendants must be heard together with the cases of others, so that one court could hear all the cases arising from all the crimes committed in the one district of Sumgait.

The court partially satisfied the appeal—ordered a reinvestigation of the cases of Dzhafarov and Ismailov. It ruled that the investigation into their cases was superficial. Akhmedov, however, was not charged with having incited ethnic hostiity. The court ruled therefore that the crimes were committed out of hooligan motives.

The relatives of the victims left the courtroom in protest at that decision and said they do not want to be represented by lawyers. Veben Urshtuni said it was their right and not their duty to attend the hearing. Our rights as lawyers, he said, derived from their rights as the injured party. They thanked the lawyers for the good work, and said that they no longer needed their services.

The court is expected to give the verdict several days from now.

Situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Viewed

'Concrete' Economic Development

NC0311151288 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 2 Nov 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] It has been reported that 42 [word indistinct] have been constructed in the town of Khodzhaly in Nagorno-Karabakh equipped mostly with house effects. Telephone lines also have been linked to Khodzhaly and [word indistinct] is operating. The work being carried out to lay gas and water supply pipes to the town is nearing completion. [passage indistinct]

The Ministry of Light Industry, the Ministry of Motor Transport, and the Trade Industry Union [ticaret sanayi birligi] affiliated with the Azerbaijan SSR forestry products industry have begun work to set up (?large) industrial establishments which will provide employment for hundreds of workers.

Concrete work similar to that in Khodzhaly has been and is being carried out in the other towns in Nagorno-Karabakh.

KOMMUNIST will publish information on a regular basis in connection with the fulfillment of the decision the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR [words indistinct] adopted on 24 March 1988 regarding the measures required to upgrade the pace of social and economic development in Nagorno-Karabakh from 1988 to 1995. [passage indistinct]

A program prepared jointly by the editors of KOMMUNIST and the Azerbaijan SSR television network will be screened [words indistinct] at 2050 local time.

Radio on Conditions

NC1011203288 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Press reports show that the 65 years of economic ties between Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh have not been equal and bilateral. The part played by Azerbaijan in the autonomous oblast's total imports and exports is between 8-12 percent. In order to avoid economic [word indistinct], Artsakh has been (?elevated) to the economic partner of Azerbaijan. For this reason, for example, the silk industry alone is deprived of r60 million of income a year.

Per capita meat production in the oblast is more than 62 kg. Per capita meat production in Azerbaijan is under 24 kg. The quantity of meat consumed per person in the oblast is 20 kg, while in Azerbaijan it is 36 kg.

Obviously the one who produces more is receiving less.

Among the autonomous oblast's very severe problems is the water supply for the residents. For example, out of 218 residents, only 25 can be said to be receiving sufficient water.

It is difficult to find a [word indistinct] person in the oblast's economy who is not completely dependent on the Azerbaijan republican bodies, which harshly violate the principle of the establishments' territorial (?existence).

A large number of sanatoriums in Nagorno-Karabakh are housed in temporary buildings. With the increase in the number of the bedridden, sanitary conditions have deteriorated unacceptably. Out of 207 sanatoriums, only seven are located in suitable buildings.

In order to ensure places for the oblast's students, it is necessary to build schools with 12,000 places. Out of the (?existing) schools, 113 are in unheated buildings, and 15 are housed in private homes built before 1924. Out of the 70 pre-school establishments only 16 are located in suitable buildings.

The employees of Artsakh's cultural-educational establishments are working under difficult conditions. There are 1,600 Armenian monuments in the autonomous oblast. However, their renovation and preservation have been (?completely neglected). A large number of these monuments have been seriously damaged, and many of them have been destroyed.

For decades, cultural development in the autonomous oblast has been (?artifically) hindered.

Between 1923 and 1986, the population of Karabakh increased by 19,000—and that to the benefit of the Azerbaijanis. The number of Armenians, however, has not reached the level that it was in 1927.

All this is part of the effort to transfer the Armenian people from the oblast.

Construction Assistance Offered

NC1311123088 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Yerevan, 11 November, ARMENPRES—On the basis of the decision adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers has prepared a plan to assist the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], primarily in constructing houses, social-cultural and production units, and highways, as well as in supplying gas to homes.

With winter approaching, a decision has been adopted to construct more than 100 cottage-like houses in the NKAO this year in order to house refugees from Sumgait. To this effect, on 7 November a convoy of 40 heavy trucks delivered a cargo of technical material, equipment, construction material, and parts to the NKAO. On 9 November a large convoy carrying similar cargo was again sent to the NKAO.

During a meeting of the Artiktuf Workers [name as received] Collective, a unanimous agreement was reached to extend work to off days and holidays in order to ensure the completion of the daily dispatch of four to five wagons construction rocks to the NKAO. In order to complete the construction of the units on time, the pertinent organizations in the NKAO will be supplied with cement and [word indistinct] work.

The completion of the project is being continuously overseen by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government.

Damage From 'Incidents' in Shusha Repaired

NC1411102888 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Text] An AZERINFORM correspondent has been informed that all of the 62 houses which were damaged or destroyed in Shusha have been repaired. In general, about 400 Armenians have returned to the town and are now working again.

This information, which was provided by the Shusha Rayon Party Committee, has recalled the regrettable incidents which took place in September. The Armenian residents of Shusha left the town after an incident which occurred near (?Olykh) Adzhami village. The windows of their homes were stoned later on.

The houses of the Azerbaijanis who were forced to leave Stepanakert were attacked in a similar way before the incident in (?Olykh) Adzhami. More than 250 houses were damaged and many others were destroyed by fire.

The decision adopted by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau on 13 October established concrete measures for the repair of the damaged houses and other residential facilities and for the creation of the conditions required for reemploying people who lost their jobs. Workers brigades were set up [words indistinct] to repair the damaged houses as a result of the initiatives made by the [words indistinct]. These brigades took quick action to remove the results of the disturbances.

However, regardless of the many instructions issued by the leading officials of the oblast and city party organizations in Stepanakert, there was a long delay before work was begun to repair the houses damaged or destroyed by fire in that city. A number of these houses have now been repaired with the help of construction workers from various cities and towns in Azerbaijan.

In Khodzhaly, 28 Azerbaijani families have moved into new homes. Their homes in Stepanakert were damaged. These families will return to their former homes when they are repaired. The houses they now occupy will be given to the residents of Khodzhaly, who are living in some disorganization at the present time.

Meanwhile, the construction of new houses has begun in Stepanakert for those who moved to that city from Sumgait. However, these families can return to their former homes if they wish to do so. Their homes are being kept for them.

Baku To Erect Monument to Troops in Afghanistan

NC0811081088 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 6 Nov 88

[Text] The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee has welcomed the Baku Gorkom's suggestion to erect a monument in Baku in memory of the Soviet troops who have died in Afghanistan. The Central Committee instructed the Baku Gorispolkom, the Azerbaijan SSR Union of Painters, and the Azerbaijan SSR Union of Architects to select the site for the monument and to organize a competition for its design.

Azerbaijan Convocation Elects, Relieves Members

LD1511135588 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0204 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Excerpts] On 10 November the 8th session of the Azerbaijan SSR of the 11th convocation was held. [passage omitted]

At the recommendation of Suleyman Tatliyev, chairman of the Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet, Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee was elected member of the Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet. Deputy Kyamran Bagirov and deputy Dzhangir Muslim-Zade were relieved of the membership of the Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet. [passage omitted]

The session relieved deputy Nazim Mamedov of his duty as chairman of the Credentials Commission of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet and elected deputy Vagif Guseynov, chairman of the Credentials Commission.

Deputy (?Rasi) Zeynalov was elected chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet and deputy Ramiz Mekhtiyev was relieved of his duty as chairman of this commission.

With this the 8th session of the Azerbaijan SSR of the 11th convocation concluded its work.

Economic 'Tense State of Affairs' in Azerbaijan

NC0311152488 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 1 Nov 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The newspapers published today the information released by the republic's State Statistics Committee in connection with socioeconomic development in the Azerbaijan SSR during the past 9 months under the following rubric: We must work more productively.

The statistics released by the committee show that the economic development of the republic continued to increase from the point of view of [words indistinct]. The national income increased by 3 percent as a result of the struggle [words indistinct] and the output in social work rose by 2 percent. The plan targets concerning [word indistinct] have been overfulfilled, the production of consumer goods have increased, and the network of cooperatives has broadened significantly.

However, a tense state of affairs continues to prevail in a number of economic fields in the republic. Compared with the plan targets, the national income has increased only slowly. The increase in wages in many establishments has exceeded the pace of the increase in work output. The income of the people is not fully matched with [word indistinct] and services. The production of cheap commodities has been reduced and meeting the demand for these commodities has become a serious problem. On the other hand, a number of individual establishments and organizations in the republic are financially unstable.

'Token Strike' at Estonian Port Successful

LD1011061388 Moscow TASS in English 0555 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Tallinn November 10—By ETA correspondent Levi Ser:

"It was an unprecedented case for us," made a helpless gesture Anatoliy Kanayev, head of the Novotallinskiy Sea port. He had been away on the day of dockers' strike, but he was fully advised of the situation and appraises the strike strictly enough: "This is a result of sluggishness of the port's management and old and outdated attitude to work."

So, what has happened after all?

The Novotallinskiy port is one of the most modern and well-equipped in the country. Its grain and refrigerated complexes are designed for mechanized handling of ships. As for the grain, it was alright, but vegetables and fruits which are to come in a packetized form are brought sometimes by ships in bulk. Dockers have to stop their machines and carry on their backs, as a hundred years ago, sacks or boxes to railway waggons. This is an arduous job and wages drop 50 or 60 percent.

Representatives of the team of the refrigerated complex repeatedly called the management's attention to this problem. But they received nothing but ambiguous promises. Then the decision was taken to call a token strike.

Yuriy Keba's team, both first and second shifts, refused to unload ships manually. "We cannot bring home 50 percent less money only because our bosses cannot come to agreement between themselves," the team leader substantiated the extraordinary measure of pressure on the management. He added that if the port management had taken measures in time, there would have been no need for the strike. Even now this was not a general job action. This was a 24-hour strike, the last warning, so to say.

"You see, it worked," said Yuriy Keba.

Indeed, the management of the Novotallinskiy port and representatives of dockers have worked out urgent measures to rectify the situation: Job prices for manual handling were considerably increased, organization of work changed and demands were sent to the Ministry of Merchant Marine and other departments to dispatch to the Novotallinskiy port only such cargoes, for the handling of which the port was designed.

It is good that measures were taken and their implementation was put under control. But it is regrettable that such an extraordinary measure was needed to make bosses of the port heed to the just demands of workers.

"We learn by mistakes," they say in the Novotallinskiy port. This refers both to the management and the dockers who understand, of course, that the strike is no way of settling issues. "Only as the last resort", says team leader Yuriy Keba. He hopes that there will be no last resort in future.

Estonian Secretary Notes Inter-Ethnic Tensions

WA18000138 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 27 Oct 88 p 3

[Interview with Estonian Communist Party Central Committee secretary Indrek Toome by a SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA correspondent: "How Difficult It Is To Understand Each Other"; date and place not specified]

[Text] **Since the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee 11th Plenum the atmosphere in the republic has somewhat improved. But tensions in inter-ethnic relations remain. Our correspondent talked about this with Estonian Communist Party Central Committee secretary Indrek Toome.**

[Question] Why have tensions in interethnic relations not relaxed?

[Answer] First and foremost because for too long we have not talked about them at all openly. So many problems have built up. Uncontrolled migration—one of the problems—has led essentially to demographic distortion. Remember that over the past 30 years the number of inhabitants of non-indigenous nationality has almost doubled. Enterprises, sectors and regions have come into being where you do not hear the Estonian language. This has naturally alarmed Estonians, first and foremost the intelligentsia, which catches people's moods and the trends in life most exactly. Development of the national language and national culture has been threatened. Let us admit it: this is a real threat. This is why Estonians, and indeed a certain part of the Russian-speaking population, have recognized it and have supported the idea of making Estonian the official language and introducing republic citizenship. Unfortunately, the debate on these proposals and the dispute about them have not been kept within the confines of political culture. Emotions have sometimes got out of hand and passions have been roused with respect to the arbitrary interpretation of the concepts of official language and citizenship. Strange as it may seem, some activists in the various movements and groups who favor pluralism of opinion in what they say are just as intolerant of those who think differently and are unable, and indeed reluctant, to engage in reasonable dialogue. But the real interests of restructuring undoubtedly also coincide with the real interests of all the inhabitants of Estonia. Differences in the other interests of groups of people have inevitably also given rise to differences of opinion. A hasty desire to unite them, and, more often, to foist one's own wishes on others often leads to the frustration of attempts to achieve mutual understanding . Perhaps this is also why the latest well-thought-out mass measures, meetings and discussions with people holding different convictions have also failed to produce the desired results.

The recent Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum named the reasons for the exacerbation of inter-ethnic relations in the republic. It also named measures for eliminating them, even if not immediately. The position of communists in the republic is unambiguous: making Estonian the official language and introducing citizenship are a necessity dictated by the times. Moreover, it is impossible to delay any longer the adoption of corresponding state enactments. Those present at the plenum stated just as firmly that this will in no way lead to any infringement on the civic rights of people of different nationality living in Estonia.

Citizenship means safeguarding the political, economic, social and cultural interests of all permanent inhabitants of Estonia, an end to the migration troubles, and, if not an upsurge in well-being, then at least a slowdown in the decline.

The law on language means safeguarding the foundation of the Estonian culture, which, of course, does not mean that the rest of the population will not be able to handle their own affairs in Russian.

[Question] Notwithstanding, the misgivings of a significant part of the Russian-speaking population and the labor collectives at enterprises of all-union subordination have not been assuaged. They have, perhaps, even increased recently. The closer we come to adoption of a law on the official language the greater their concern about the future. To put it more simply, people are simply afraid that Russian will no longer be spoken in public places, stores and everyday service facilities. And, as luck would have it, the examples confirming this misgiving are becoming more frequent.

[Answer] I personally assess these examples in one way: what is happening is because of the low general culture of the workers and their elementary ill-breeding, yes and because of the impunity that has become traditional for the services sphere. And it would be a mistake to apply the features of character and behavior in individual Estonians and groups of Estonians to all of Estonia and its people. Just as it is quite unjustified to apply the shortcomings of particular Russians immediately to all those who at various times have lived in the republic.

[Question] If we have already talked about the reasons for the psychological discomfort of the Russian-speaking population then I must allow myself to name something else, namely, the unregulated and in any event carelessly written scholarly articles and commentaries. There is a great number of them now in the press. While welcoming the turnabout in science and of scholars to direct talk with people, it would probably also be worthwhile to warn of the responsibility of authors for each word and each conclusion. There must be no allusions or double entendres here. And another reason. One goes into a department that was formerly ministry rank and everywhere one sees brand-new lists written only in Estonian.

[Answer] What can I say. Lack of thought and double entendres bring honor neither to the newspaper writer or the editor. I would even say even less for the editor. And with regard to the departments and the lists, we can also cite many examples of the notices on walls or doors being written only in Russian. The question here is that the use of the two languages must be brought into proper order with the help of an appropriate law. I emphasize again that this law will in no way infringe upon the rights of the overwhelming majority of the Russian-speaking population. Each person, no matter of what nationality, can as we wishes conduct his affairs in any organization in the language of inter-nation dealings—Russian. It is also important that the law will finally create an effective network for teaching all those wishing to learn Estonian. The law will not force everyone to learn the language.

[Question] You said "the overwhelming majority of the Russian-speaking population." Does this mean that some people's interests will nevertheless be affected?

[Answer] Yes. There will be a mandatory requirement for a knowledge of both languages for all leaders and party, soviet and trade union workers and workers in the services sphere, trade and medicine. Let me put it this way: life for the "officials" will be made considerably more complicated. They must either master a second language after a certain time or retire. But let me add that this also applies to "officials" of indigenous nationality. And there will be no exceptions to this rule. Those who work at machine tools on on construction sites need have no worries about the future.

[Question] The latest mail indicates that the proposals of the working group to make Estonian the official language have caused disquiet. Many people think that they have been formulated in a manner more inflexible than was discussed at the plan.

[Answer] I, it is true, do not know how this inflexibility is expressed and I think that what we are dealing with here is rumors. The principles of the law on language were not formulated at all at the plenum, and this was not a matter for the plenum. The plenum set political tasks. Formulating the law is the prerogative of the republic Supreme Soviet. A draft of the law will soon be introduced for public debate. Neither should we forget that this is the very first version and it is published for familiarization. These proposals have been considered by the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium and the draft law on the status of the Estonian language has been prepared giving due consideration to them. Adequate time will be set aside for debate in all the labor collectives. I think that the mass media should also be actively included in the debate. We are all in favor of the law being truly democratic and containing common sense and really guaranteeing observance of the law by all those living in Estonia.

[Question] And the law of Estonian citizenship should all obviously meet the same requirements, should it not?

[Answer] Undoubtedly. But here the scholars and lawyers face much work. Corresponding amendments are also required to the Constitutions of the country and the republic. For now I say only one thing: the introduction of citizenship will be in the interests of all those who are living and intend to live in Estonia. Those who decide to link their fates forever with it. And no one will lose from its introduction.

Estonian Decree on Use of National Symbols

WA18000151 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 28 Oct 88 p 3

[Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic]

[Text]

Ratifying the Regulation on the Procedure for the Use of Estonian National Symbols

In accordance with the 23 June 1988 Ukase of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium "On State and National Symbols of the Estonian SSR" the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Decrees:

To ratify the Regulation on the Procedure for the Use of Estonian National Symbols as per the appendix.

A. Ruytel, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

V. Vakht, secretary of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Tallinn, 20 October 1988.

Regulation on the Procedure for the Use of Estonian National Symbols

1. The colors of the Estonian national flag will be blue, black and white.

2. The Estonian national flag may be hoisted and used in any national or family function.

The national flag may not be used instead of the state flag.

3. Whenever the state flag of the USSR, the state flag of the Estonian SSR and the Estonian national flag are hoisted side by side, the flags will be of equal size. Whenever the national flag of the USSR, the state flag of the Estonian SSR and the Estonian national flag are hoisted side by side the national flag will be on the left of the state flag of the Estonian SSR looked at from the side of the flags.

4. The Estonian national flag will be raised at sunrise and lowered at sunset, with the exception of Ivanov Den eve.

5. The colors of the Estonian national flag may be used for decorative purposes.

6. The Estonian national symbols—cornflowers and swallows—may be used for decorative purposes, as symbols and for other purposes, providing that their use does not violate the stipulations of Point 7 of this regulation.

7. The attitude toward the Estonian national flag and symbols must be one of honor and respect. Their premeditated destruction, desecration, damaging or slighting will be punishable by law.

8. The observance of the present regulation is the duty of all citizens and officials.

Vorotnikov Chairs RSFSR Presidium Session

PM1511085988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Nov 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Session"]

[Text] A routine session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was held 9 November. It examined questions linked with holding the 9th session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, 11th convocation. It discussed and approved proposals on the agenda and the standing orders for the session of the RSFSR supreme organ of state power.

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium discussed the question of completing the work of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Budget and Planning Commission and other standing commissions on the preliminary examination of the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the RSFSR in 1989, progress in fulfilling the 1988 plan, the RSFSR State Budget for 1989, and the report on implementation of the 1987 budget.

It examined the question of submitting for ratification by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet decrees adopted by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in the period between the seventh and ninth sessions of the RSFSR supreme organ of state power.

The Presidium session discussed the question of the work of soviet and economic organs in Gorkiy Oblast to develop cooperative activity in the sphere of production and services for the population.

The session was chaired by V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Moldavia Launches Anti-Drug Campaign

LD1011162888 Moscow TASS in English 1340 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Kishinev November 10 TASS—More than 800,000 poppy plants and one million hemp shrubs were destroyed by the Moldavian police as a result of a recent campaign to eliminate raw materials used in underground drugs manufacturing.

Twenty drug-makers were detained and brought to trial during the operation which covered all Moldavian regions.

Uzbek Party Secretary at Supreme Soviet Session

PM1111151588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 3

["Abbreviated account of speech by Deputy K.S. Salykov, of Nikusskiy Electoral Okrug, Kara-Kalpak ASSR," first secretary of Uzbek Communist Party Kara-Kalpak Obkom, at the 28 October 1988 afternoon session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union in the Great Kremlin Palace, Moscow]

[Text] While discussing plans for the future, it would be a good idea to also note certain features of the evaluation of processes taking place in society. I think that objective criteria for assessing the economic situation in certain parts of the country—particularly those areas plagued by corruption, favoritism, overreporting, and other negative phenomena from the years of stagnation—have not yet been drawn up. Comparing what has been done in Uzbekistan over the last few years with the past, people often forget that the level of what was allegedly "achieved" during those years was based on overreported volumes. The 12th 5-Year Plan itself was to a certain extent geared to the same unrealistic parameters. We should obviously not forget this when creating concepts of development for the future. We need realism both in thinking and in action.

At the end of the 11th 5-Year Plan, for instance, all farms in the Kara-Kalpak Autonomous Republic without exception overreported more than 1,000 kg of milk per year per forage cow. There were stores which allegedly sold this nonexistent milk. You know the story about cotton. The overreporting of grain corn yields amounted to more than double the actual indicators. Around one-fourth of the area sown to cotton and rice was kept hidden from the accounts.

In the years of restructuring there has been a struggle to accelerate social and economic development along with the acute struggle to instill order and justice. Returns per irrigated hectare and field and stock unit productivity have been somewhat increased. Brokers have been replaced by cooperative members and market prices have noticeably fallen. This is undoubtedly not enough, reserves and capabilities have not been fully exploited, but clear prospects have opened up for ways of moving forward. The most important result of the first stage of restructuring is that people have come to believe in the real possibility of fulfilling plans without tricking the state or indulging in overreporting—they believe in restructuring. Planning organs should respond with mutual trust and try to introduce the necessary innovations into the plan compilation mechanism. Diktat from above should rather be replaced by businesslike consultation with the grassroots—then we will be able to boldly introduce state orders without formalism.

Another worrying question is the drying up of the Aral Sea and the desertification of the Aral region. As is well known, a CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution was recently issued on the problems of the Aral region. The veil of shameful silence covering this global ecological crisis was lifted. Fundamental measures for rectifying the situation were determined. At the same time, certain comrades, on the basis of parochial and self-seeking considerations, still want to whip up an unnecessary polemic still further. I would like to remind them of an important aspect of the principle of democratic centralism that is binding on all: unity of action after decisions are made.

Talking about economic relations within the agro-industrial complex, I wholly and fully support the ideas expressed in B.V. Kachura's coreport. The lease contract system and the cooperative movement are gaining pace. People's desire is a great and positive experience is being accumulated in the creation of agricultural combines and associations in place of rayon agro-industrial associations. But the questions that arise must be boldly resolved. Our cotton and rice processing plants were the root of a great many problems. We advocate handing them over to agricultural combines and associations, but we are meeting with objections from superior economic organs. Leaseholders are bluntly asking vitally important questions: It is necessary to put the water collection and drainage networks in order and eliminate instances of untimely material and technical supply. With the increased incidence of machine harvesting, premier-grade cotton—which was previously harvested by hand—is now mixed up in a general pile with other varieties. As a result leaseholders and cooperative members lose large sums of money. We are resolving water resource questions with the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, while the other problems I have touched upon concern the USSR Gosagroprom.

Not only are lease contracts and cooperatives revealing the potential of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, but the potential of the individual sector—particularly in stockraising—is increasing. In Kara-Kalpakia there are 183 head of cattle and over 200 sheep and goats per 100 farms. On the whole, we support the principle of state orders in order to ensure that this principle should subsequently divide up the region according to sector. Then rayon leaders would devote equal attention to both sectors. There is confusion, for instance, as to why it is not allowed to include in the plan meat procurements sold by consumer cooperatives and bought from the individual sector. There are different interpretations of this issue and clarity is needed. After all, this is a real asset which we produce and consume... In short, we support any measures that promote the development of the individual sector alongside the state sector. This ought to be enshrined in law.

Solovyev Attends Leningrad Party Conference

PM1411123388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Nov 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Main Topic—Restructuring"]

[Excerpts] Leningrad, 12 Nov—Persistently mastering political methods of leadership and breaking with ingrained stereotypes was the aim of Leningrad Communists at the city and rayon CPSU report and election conferences held today. They discussed the practical implementation of the 19th All-Union Party Conference resolutions.

Kirovskiy party raykom came in for a strict examination. [passage omitted]

The conference was addressed by Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Leningrad party obkom.

America-Canada Institute Head on New Thinking

AU0311153288 Belgrade POLITIKA
in Serbo-Croatian 23 Oct 88 p 2

[Article "written for POLITIKA" by Georgiy Arbatov, director of the USSR United States of America and Canada Institute: "New Political Thinking in the USSR"]

[Text] The evolution of a new political thinking and the policy based on this thinking have become a question of life and death. This thinking evolved from the ideas and conclusions of some individuals, prominent scientists, and politicians (starting with Einstein, Russell, Myrdal, and Palme). We in the USSR are now trying to develop a complete political platform of this thinking which would form a base of our country's activities in the world arena, and perhaps of all other members of the international community.

This work, and I do not want to hide this, demanded from us to change many of our set visions. I would like to proceed from the fact that our perception of the world in which we live has also changed. The same applies to the perception of the generations which remember, if not the 1920's, then the 1930's, the 1940's, and the 1950's. They remember how long we have been of the opinion that the main characteristic of the contemporary world is that it is divided into two antagonistic social systems (socialism and capitalism) which wage an irreconcilable battle, a battle that determines the entire course of events. Today, we are of the opinion that the world is indeed full of contradictions, confrontations, and differences, but we also think that the world is united, sensitive, and very tightly connected. We must obviously proceed from the fact that it is this cohesion, this unity of main interests, that has become the main determinant, and not the many existing antagonisms and contradictions which must not prevail over common interests.

We have also changed our views on military power [vojna sila]. Not because we were militarists before. We have never been militarists. But we have never thought about limiting the use of military power as much as we do now. This is why in our policy on ensuring security we relied too much on military means. We have now realized this, and are of the opinion that this was an illusion. This was in fact discussed at the 19th party conference which drew the conclusion that we now must rely much more on political means in ensuring security.

At the same time a view emerged that the main source of danger, and therefore our main enemy, is not the United States, or NATO, but militarism. Our main task is to stop the militarization of life, which has reached fantastic proportions during our time. Militarism has become not only the problem of the North, but also of the South. Look at what has been happening in our time, especially after World War II, when in the course of its history, and this at the time of an improvement in the international situation, mankind is spending $1 billion a year for military purposes. At what other peaceful, tranquil, and normal times have such huge armies existed? At what other time were the economies, international relations, society's intellectual life, and its culture militarized to that extent?

In brief, the demilitarization of society is the major problem of the contemporary world. Without checking and ultimately eliminating militarism, we cannot survive for if we do not check it we will simply not be able to solve other problems among which are the problems of development, ecology, and so forth.

Furthermore, and this is something that is connected with what I have already spoken about, our perception of security and the fact that this is not as much a military as it is a political problem has also changed. We have also changed our view that security cannot be ensured at the expense of or to the detriment of the other side. Our visions have also changed in the sense that security is such a wide notion, and that it, and this is important to realize, has different, mutually connected aspects: the military and political, the economic and humanitarian aspects. Our views on many other issues have also changed, on the Third World, for instance. We have attached great importance to the problem of freeing the world from colonialism and semi-colonialism right from the first days of our revolution. After the revolution we ourselves have done much in this respect: Tsarist Russia had its colonies, not only within the country, but also on its outskirts (middle Asia, Caucasus, and other places). We freed them, we helped them, we put them on the more or less same level of development as central Russia.

This is how things stand. However, until recently completely different conclusions used to be drawn from this, such as for instance, that we have paid our debt and that now it is the turn of the former colonial empires of the West. Let them help their colonies, we are not responsible for this anymore. Now we understand the lagging behind of the Third World and the problems of development as very important global problems. We also understand this as a problem which to a great extent affects other problems such as international stability and security. We, naturally, have limited resources and numerous internal problems for which we need these resources. However, we think that it is our moral and political duty, as far as our capabilities permit us, to participate in resolving these problems. Now, we are already providing considerable aid to the Third World, when the West simply forgets that Vietnam, Cuba and a number of other countries also belong to that group of developing countries to which we are continuously sending aid.

We have also changed our views on the world economy and our place in it. Before, our main worry (which was in many respects forced on to us) was to ensure our independence from the world around us. This led to our orientation toward autarchy. We now realize that we cannot normally live under the conditions of autarchy. We want to take a much greater part in the international division of labor; we want to be full members of the world economic community considering that the mutual interdependence of the world economy will increase.

What is also very important is that we have changed our perception of our attitudes toward nature. Not so long ago the streets of Soviet towns were decorated with banners such as: "We cannot wait for nature's alms—it is our task to take from it"; "Conquer nature"; "Subjugate nature." These phrases were also present in both the press and official speeches. Now, since we have paid a high price for it, we realize that we should not fight nature and that it would mean very little if we only coexisted in peace with it.

Last but not least important are the changes in our views and attitudes toward the United Nations. There is no doubt that this change was necessary. Under the conditions of the Cold War the United Nations was warped, as it did not correspond to the vision of its creators. It was difficult to remain united with the nations that became the main antagonists. We are perhaps all lucky that the United Nations survived that period.

However, now, under the conditions of increasing mutual interdependence, we must radically change our approach to the United Nations. We should not view it only from the perspective of whether we will be supported or criticized there, but whether the organization should play a certain role in resolving general problems in which we are interested as much as the others.

The people in the USSR recently started to understand, better than ever before, the strong need for undertaking multilateral efforts, multilateral policy, and in connection with this, the need for a strong United Nations Organization. However, there is still much to be not only understood, but also learned as to how to live in a mutually connected world, even if this sometimes requires sacrificing "comfortable" conditions, understanding that one should not always opt for the easiest ways, and the knowledge that one's interests cannot be isolated from the interests of the world community.

I would not like to deny the role and the great, even very great responsibility of the United States and the USSR. I am not trying to alleviate the burden of this responsibility either. However, my strong belief is that our epoch has resolutely raised the question of not only demilitarization, but also of the democratization of international relations. We cannot forget that the USSR and the United States represent only 10 percent of mankind and that we do not have enough strength for everything.

Even if both countries simultaneously had good leaderships and sensible policies, even then we could not be satisfied with the fact that we are only using one-tenth of the intellectual, political, and material potential of mankind. We need to do much more to respond to our challenges. In addition, we should realistically view both states, both so-called superpowers. Both countries have experienced periods when not everything was really in order in their policies. I think that other countries should also understand this. We will do our utmost so that only the best things come from Moscow. But we know from history that both Moscow and Washington had their difficult periods. I think that it would be unjust for the world to become a hostage of relations between the two superpowers, the USSR and the United States. The situation that had been created over a certain period of time in the past was not normal. I think that the present time requires the great responsibility and activity of both states as well as others.

The survival of mankind is only possible as the result of efforts of the entire international community.

Lukyanov Presents Awards in Kremlin

PM0811161588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Nov 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Award Presentation"]

[Excerpts] A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, presented USSR awards to a group of production pacesetters and scientific and cultural figures in the Kremlin 4 November. [passage omitted]

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet Government, A.I. Lukyanov warmly congratulated the award winners and wished them further success in their work.

Stalinist Camp Victims Meet in Moscow

PM0911153688 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No. 45, 6 Nov 88 p 9

[Nikolay Starkov report: "They Survived. The First Meeting in Moscow of Former Prisoners of Stalinist Camps"]

[Text] Muscovites - former prisoners of Stalinist camps, have got together for the first time at the Central Artist's Club in Krymskiy Val on the initiative of the Memorial organizing committee. Out of the many thousands living in Moscow, the small hall of the Club could accommodate only a little over 100 people: workers, engineers, writers, managers, Party veterans, peasants - all purified, dispossessed "kulaks", all those who were turned into "enemies of the people". And, of course, the members of their families - wives and children of the "enemies", who shared the tragic fate of their close ones.

In was not only the desire to share recollections that brought them together, there was concern for the present, the striving to unite. There are many legal, financial and moral problems to solve. These people fought on their own for many years and, finally, they have the opportunity to join efforts. Whether it will be a kind of a club or a society of mutual assistance will become clear in due course. Those who assembled elected a working group to work out the principles of unification, to search for organizational forms acceptable to all. The meeting passed a resolution on the close cooperation of the future association with the all-Union society, Memorial now being formed. It is hoped that this will be the first of many meetings in Moscow. In Leningrad, they have become a regular event, so the situation is quite optimistic.

It is our duty not only to build a monument to the victims, but also to remember those who survived, and help them. Their number is diminishing with each passing day. They can't wait.

Decision Commemorating Chernenko Reversed

PM1411114988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[S. Taranov report: "Diesel Ship Changes Its Name"]

[Text] A joint resolution by the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers has reversed the previous decision, made 19 April 1985, to name a seagoing passenger ship for K.U. Chernenko.

IZVESTIYA also recently reported the renaming of the Nurek GES, whose labor collective, supported by party and soviet organs, rejected the name of L.I. Brezhnev. A similar process is also taking place with regard to the names of other leaders not popular among the people.

Crimes Concealed To Improve Statistics

PM2710145588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Oct 88 Second Edition p 6

[Article by M. Burmistrov and S. Zamoshkin, prosecutors in the USSR Prosecutor's Office Administration for Supervising Internal Affairs Organs Investigations and Inquiries: "Distorting Mirror. Obsession With Percentages Leads to Violations of Socialist Legality"]

[Text] Why make a secret of it: Negative phenomena in various law enforcement components persist—cases of violation of socialist legality, lack of professionalism, and an indifferent attitude to people's fate. Frequently all this is very cunningly covered up by glowing reports and tendentiously adjusted statistics. This style of work was denounced at the 19th all-union party conference. But how can it be combated? Is it possible to elaborate a mechanism to counter it?

Prof S. Ostroumov, a leading light in the sphere of Soviet legal statistics, once described his subject as a mirror of law enforcement organs' work. Alas, not all mirrors are straight... And there is no need to explain what kind of picture a distorting mirror shows...

How reliable are our current statistics illustrating the state of affairs in the sphere of criminal investigation? That is not an idle question. We are not asking it out of mere curiosity. An objective mirror is necessary in order to spot in time the signs of social malaise, take steps to eliminate its causes, and obtain a full picture of the incidence of crime and the efforts to combat it so that we can define our future tasks.

Unfortunately, we do not have a realistic picture: Statistics only record crimes registered at internal affairs organs, and they register by no means everything. The reason is obvious. Lies are fabricated in subdivisions whose leaders and staffers deliberately do not register crimes of which they are aware in a desire to create the semblance of an improvement in the "percentages" which serve as indicators of their work. This is usually done in cases where the perpetrators are not known and tracing them would be difficult. It is well worth not registering such crimes because this artificially enhances one of the main indicators of the militia's work—the clear-up rate. That in turn leads to awards and bonuses...

Naturally, this situation has not developed only recently. For decades lazy internal affairs organs staffers have been "covering up" crimes which they could not be bothered to clear up. However, during the seventies such violations became a mass phenomenon and a pernicious antistate practice. Crimes were covered up in almost every militia department, and it was not just a question of individual cases. During those years, prosecutor's office staff carrying out checks exposed tens of thousands of crimes in the country every year which had deliberately not been registered by the militia. Most often it was crimes like thefts of state, public, and private property, malicious hooliganism, and robberies which "escaped" registration.

The former leadership of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, which itself strove to "improve" indicators on paper and demanded of its subordinates that they "lower the crime rate" by any means available, contributed considerably to this lawlessness. A whole generation of militia workers was corrupted by the departmental policy of embellishing reality.

It is true that the ministry's leaders have now begun actively to introduce effective organizational measures to improve record-keeping and registration discipline. Instructions which strictly regulate the procedure for the registration of criminal acts have been issued, and a departmental supervision mechanism has been defined. Tougher demands are made on all officials involved in the investigation of reported crimes. Why then did staffers of the USSR Prosecutor's Office central apparatus last year discover in the course of checks in Kirov, Saratov, Lvov, Crimean, and Karaganda Oblasts and the Latvian, Kirghiz, and Moldavian SSR's around 1,000 crimes that had not been registered by the militia, including 600 thefts of citizens' private property and 100 cases of malicious hooliganism?

This was done quite openly. For instance, last October an unknown person attacked a female inhabitant of Frunze, citizen S., beat her up, and stole R42 from her.

The victim was taken to hospital where her injuries were attended to, and from there to the rayon internal affairs department. There the woman made a statement about the attack, but the incident was not registered, criminal proceedings were not instituted, and no one tried to find the criminal until the prosecutors arrived to carry out a check. Another example: When Aubakirov, deputy chief of a Karaganda rayon internal affairs department, received a letter about thefts at a dental polyclinic, he simply compiled a report on his conversation with medical staff and, without further troubling himself, transferred the statement to the "file," or rather to the archives, without bothering to react to 11 (!) cases of theft.

An "original" method has even been devised to deal with the most intractable victims. It is aimed at forcing the citizen to withdraw the statement he made to the militia previously. This is what an inhabitant of Frunze, citizen K., who had a radio stolen from his house, told the prosecutor's office, for instance. "I reported the incident to the rayon internal affairs department. They called me in and questioned me. Then they summoned me again and again took down what I said. Then they called at my house twice for a chat. Then they again called me to the station and started discussing the matter. By that time I had had enough, and I told them to stop summoning me. The militia staffer replied: 'Write a statement that you are withdrawing your claims.'"

True, this kind of conduct may lead to complications, but there is also an entirely "legal" method of refusing to institute criminal proceedings. In Lvov Oblast it was car owners who were out of luck. Someone steals a windscreen or a wheel from your "Zhiguli"—and the reply is: "These things are of no value." If they steal two wheels or a radio—the "damage is insignificant." If all four wheels are stolen, "no substantial damage was inflicted." The reason is always the same: unwillingness to institute proceedings and pretending that there has been no crime.

Those who want to feature among the pacesetters at any price are even prepared to "transfer" crimes from one reporting period to another. More than that, criminal proceedings are instituted on truly minor matters toward the end of a reporting period. It would be quite sufficient to record the identity of the culprit and the small danger which his action presents to society. However... these "extra" cases affect the clear-up rate. Statistics rule!

However, there are prosecutors who are supposed to stop unlawful acts. What are they doing now, in the period of restructuring?—the reader will rightly ask. Unfortunately, individual representatives of the prosecutor's office have also succumbed to the ailment of narrow departmentalism. A desire to avoid shaming one's region and to avoid appearing worse than the others sometimes leads to "bending of the rules." It must be stated honestly that the situation is worst in the Ukrainian and Moldavian SSR's, where prosecutors frequently adopt conciliatory attitudes to violations of registration discipline. And the leaders of these organs, Ukrainian and Moldavian prosecutors Comrades P. Osipenko and N. Demidenko, sometimes lack the necessary militancy in combating this evil.

On the night of 25 April 1988, for instance, unknown persons in Sverdlovsk city, Voroshilovgrad Oblast, broke the lock on citizen Peya's garage and stole hundreds of rubles worth of goods. Militia officers issued a decision refusing to institute criminal proceedings for farfetched reasons. And what did the prosecutor do? Instead of taking immediate steps to investigate this crime, he ordered an "additional check." Discovering blatant cases of failure to register crimes, Ukrainian SSR Prosecutor's Office staffers frequently turn a blind eye rather than stop the lawlessness. The question of prosecutors' personal responsibility for violations of legality in the examination of statements and reports on crimes is a weak spot in the work of the prosecutor's office.

Some prosecutors are urging that the concealment of crimes be cauterized like a festering sore. However, such appeals do little to change the actual situation. And even if measures are adopted, they usually affect what are popularly called the "small fry" while the ringleaders are unscathed, as it were. For instance, violations of legality were exposed at the No 41 Moscow Militia Department. Criminal proceedings were instituted on a charge of failure to register crimes. And what happened? At the Moscow Gorispolkom Main Internal Affairs Administration 5 months passed before it was decided to remove Chayka, the compromised chief of the department, from his post. Despite the fact that in the subdivision which he headed alone almost 30 crimes had been concealed!

Worse things happen. Sometimes the leaders of internal affairs organs where people have gotten used to taking liberties with the law climb the career ladder. In 1987 prosecutor's office organs carried out an investigation into Ionashka, operations officer in the Sovetskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department Criminal Investigation Department in Kishinev, who was sentenced by a court for concealment of crimes by means of official forgery. Meanwhile the chief of the selfsame "model" militia department, Melega, was promoted to the rank of militia colonel. He had not managed to get used to his long-coveted fur hat before clouds gathered over his head too. Representatives of the USSR Prosecutor's Office discovered more than 100 cases of concealment of crimes through failure to register them in the Sovetskiy and Oktyabrskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Departments, and this "did not go unnoticed" as regards the service records of the leaders of these departments. The selfsame Melega now heads one ~~of~~ the subdivisions of the Moldavian Ministry of Internal Affairs and his colleague Gutsulyak, formerly of the Oktyabrskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department and also a great specialist in juggling the law, now lectures at the republic Ministry of Internal

Affairs training center, although meanwhile in May last year five of his former subordinates were arrested for playing hide-and-seek with the law.

How is the appointment of the Lvov Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration chief to a responsible post in the Criminal Investigation Department at union level in Moscow to be interpreted? As evidence of his effective work in the exposure of crimes in the Carpathians? It must be admitted that the "clear-up rate" there was almost a record. However, just after he had moved to Moscow the USSR Prosecutor's Office exposed 250 crimes which his former subordinates had failed to register. The clear-up rate was immediately reduced by a factor of three.

But how is one to combat these kinds of violations?

Our stance may seem to some people excessively "typical of our profession," but the only thing we can propose is greater exactingness.

To be fair, let us note that the clear-up rate problem troubles criminal investigation experts the world over. However, until recently the clear-up rate of burglaries, for instance, totaled 18 percent in Britain, 15 percent in France, and 6 percent in Italy, while in our country in certain militia departments it was virtually "100.1 percent"...

Unless the concealment of crimes is tackled in earnest in the internal affairs departments themselves (after all you cannot put a prosecutor to watch over each individual militia staffer!), and unless those guilty of any act of violation are punished without exception and in the strictest possible manner, the situation concerning the registration of crimes will not change. The normal response to violations must be removal from their posts of both the perpetrators and their superiors and their dismissal from the militia, rather than feigned punishment or even tacit approval of the "attained" indicators.

However, disciplinary measures as punishment for lawlessness are not enough. Concealing crimes means violating the Leninist principle of the inevitability of punishment and flouting the rights of the victims who hoped to find assistance and protection at the militia post. Therefore failure to register crimes is in itself a crime.

Let us recall that in accordance with the criminal code the deliberate use of official position against the interests of the service, especially if substantial damage has been caused to the rights and interests of citizens protected by law as a result of efforts to secure personal gain, is viewed as criminal abuse of official position. However, this provision of the criminal code is virtually never applied to the aforementioned violations. The reason is that jurists cannot agree when terms such as "personal" gain and "substantial" damage apply and when not.

Is there sufficient reason to introduce a special article in the criminal code on liability for failure to register crimes? After all, there is a provision for criminal punishment for deliberate unlawful arrest or detention or the institution of criminal proceedings against an innocent person...

The "distorting mirror" must be smashed.

Ignalina Nuclear Reactor 'No Cause for Concern'

LD1011054888 Moscow TASS in English 0535 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Vilnius November 10 - By EL'TA correspondent Roland Sikurs:

Two months after last September's fire in the cable room of the second generating unit at the Ignalina Nuclear Power Station, which aroused justified concern both in the Soviet Union and abroad, instruments monitoring the situation at the facility indicate the trouble was short-lived and there is no longer any cause for concern.

The project is located near the National Park of Lithuania, which effectively represents a small-scale replica of this Baltic republic, with numerous hills, forest tracts and very clean rivers and lakes, including Lake Draksiaj supplying water for the nuclear power station.

Considering public opinion, it has been decided to limit the capacity of the Ignalina project.

Its director Anatoliy Khromchenko speaks below on what actually happened at the station on September 5, 1988:

—"It is an electric cable that ignited in the basement under the control room. The fire, an expert commission has established, was caused by a short circuit or a technical fault in the cable and continued for five to ten minutes before being completely extinguished by an automatic fire-fighting system."

—"What is it like?"

—"It consists of pick-ups installed in every room in the basement. As soon as they pick up a smell of smoke, they immediately order fire service pumps to get into action."

—"How long did it take the system to do so in that particular situation? Could you provide a chronology of the happenings at the time?"

—"The experts wrote in their conclusion: 'At 0:52 on September 5, 1988, there came in the first, warning signal. After the fire alarm was confirmed by a second signal ten seconds later, the pumps snapped into action and put the fire out completely." [single closing quotation mark as received]

—"And were the fire-fighters standing by?"

—"The deputy shift foreman at the second generating unit received the fire alarm signal at 0:52. The fire-fighters arrived on the scene at 0:55, or three minutes after that. At 0 hours 55 minutes and 55 seconds the generating unit was shut down by automatic safeguards and the reactor was unloaded down to 60 percent. The reactor cooling took place in one of the design modes and the process was completely under control."

—"What would the consequences have been had the fire-extinguishing system been actuated in, say, twenty rather than ten seconds?"

—"Each cable floor at the station is divided into compartments with 600-millimeter-thick concrete walls between them. Where it passes through the walls, the cable is covered with fire-proof coating. So a fire won't spread any further than the compartment where it has broken out and there is a fire-fighting system in every compartment. The expert commission has found the actions of the fire-fighters and the station's personnel right and noted that during the fight with the fire the nuclear safety of the reactor was ensured."

Yuriy Batalin, chief of the external radiation monitoring laboratory of the Safety Service, has this to say on the ecological situation around the Ignalina Station:

"We keep watch on an area around the station, which has a radius of 30 kilometers. There are as many as eleven monitoring posts just in the eight-kilometer zone around the station, which continuously monitor the condition of the air and water there.

"All the air from the station has to pass through special filters before being released into the atmosphere. And extra and careful checks are made whenever alarms are triggered off in neighboring regions or countries. However, in all the cases where higher-than-normal radiation levels have been reported in Scandinavia, the discharges from here have been within normal limits.

"Fifteen members of our staff monitor the conditions of the water, fish, plants and sedimentation in the water reservoirs in the area as well as precipitation, sewage before and after treatment facilities, drinking water sources, three leaves and pine-needles, berries and mushrooms."

As I left the station, I asked one of the lab members about the radiation level at that particular time. His answer was: "Twenty percent of the allowed limit." No cause for concern indeed.

Official Describes New Department Newspaper

LD0211203988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Glasnost and democracy—these two words, which are very popular today, characterize the essence of the interview that you will now hear. In my opinion it eloquently bears witness to the fact that both these concepts are becoming norms of life. Our correspondent (Yuriy Gordeyev) met with (Nikolay Yakovlevich Makar), main specialist of the Information department of the USSR Council of Ministers. The department in which he works began functioning very recently. With the assistance of this department's employees the first edition of the newspaper PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK will soon appear.

[Begin recording] [(Gordeyev)] (Nikolay Yakovlevich), what need is there for issuing the newspaper?

[(Makar)] Until now the Council of Ministers, that is the government, did not have its own press organ. Now glasnost is being extended; this is why it was decided to publish the newspaper PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK. It will be the official organ of the Council of Ministers, and will begin to appear, in the form of a newspaper, starting 1 January 1989. In form it will be approximately similar to EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA and ZA RUBEZHOM. Slightly smaller, it is true. There will be only 12 columns in all, half the size of the PRAVDA format. It will appear once every 2 weeks, but starting in 1990 it will already be a weekly. The content is being thought through right at the moment. It will not be a formal, official organ. That is, in addition to the official materials there will be scientific discussions and a selection of the letters to the Council of Ministers, comments from labor collectives, and ministers' speeches. In a word, the newspaper has to be interesting, with plenty of content. It will be published on the presses of the IZVESTIYA publishing house. In practice the Department of Information, that is our department, will have to prepare it and produce it.

[(Gordeyev)] It has been set up. It would probably be appropriate for us to talk about the functions of this department, and what kind of department it is.

[(Makar)] The department was set up immediately after the 19th party conference, which is quite significant. The staff of the department is for the time being not large. Lev Aleksandrovich Voznesenskiy, the well-known political observer, is in charge of the department.

[(Gordeyev)] It must be easy to work with him, probably.

[(Makar)] Yes, his television programs arouse great interest.

[(Gordeyev)] What are the tasks of the department?

[(Makar)] The main task of the department is, on the one hand, the extension of glasnost; on the other hand, our task is a deep analysis and study of public opinion, in order to convey to the government the opinions of our people on decisions that are in the process of being made, on decisions that have already been made, about how they are being preached in practice, and so forth.

[(Gordeyev)] Feedback.

[(Makar)] Feedback. This is a very important question. I'd like to give you a little example, after just such a profound analysis, in the situation with regard to subscriptions. You remember the question was a burning topic of the day. The question was considered at a Council of Ministers session and the decision is well known: All restrictions were removed. I believe that such questions will be further studied and considered and communicated to the government.

Not long ago we made public a very important problem connected with the unprofitability of enterprises. This problem, as you remember, was very keenly discussed at the last Supreme Soviet session and we now, together with the mass media, are keeping it under observation. One of the tasks of our department is to ensure such a businesslike reaction by the organs of state government to those topical problems, which are vitally important now for our people. [end recording]

Comrades, it only remains for me to remind you one can subscribe to the newspaper PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK until 30 November, and the cost of an annual subscription is R3.90. The newspaper will also be sold through retail outlets.

Road Opens Once 'Inaccessible' Region

PM1411155188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS correspondent V. Danilenko report "specially for PRAVDA" under the rubric "Reporters' Teletype": "Road Beyond the Clouds"]

[Text] Mugur-Aksy, Tuva ASSR—National economic freight arrived in the Tuva settlement of Mugur-Aksy, high up in the mountains, several hours earlier than usual. For the first time, the drivers had not had to cross the USSR state border to reach here. A new mountain road now runs through the Sayanskiy mountains to this inaccessible region.

It used to be that "the only way to get here was to fly"—and that only in good weather, a rarity in the mountain pass. Otherwise you had to fill out the necessary documents to travel via Mongolia: From its territory there is a road into the valley. But the roundabout way is also 70 km longer. All this has affected the development of the rayon, which, by virtue of its unusual geographical situation, found itself classed as "unpromising." However, despite the harsh climate and difficult conditions for farming, as a rule people do not leave the area: They are breeding livestock and working hard to develop crop farming.

"The new highway is still very rough. Further work will have to be done on it. But a stream of freight has already confidently passed along it, successfully bypassing the ice and areas where there is a danger of landslides," V. Khemer-Ool, first secretary of the Mongun-Tayginskiy party raykom, said. In the space of a year, specialists from the Tuva Design and Repair Construction Association built four bridges in the Khandagayty-Sagly-Mugur-Aksy section, cut a 6-km passage through the rocks, and built embankments across gullies... Building the road ahead of schedule has made it possible to supply the rayon with fuel, organize an efficient supply of fruit and vegetables, and deliver mail before the first frosts.

Economic

Economic Growth Curbs Will Not Improve Quality

PM1611090188 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 11 Nov 88 p 1

[Soltan Dzarasov "Viewpoint" article: "Acceleration or Deceleration?"]

[Text] We all share the realization that the technical level and structure of our economy do not accord with modern requirements. On one hand, we produce a great deal of unnecessary goods. We have frequently written about tractors, combines, metal, and footwear.... On the other hand, the quality of the goods leaves a great deal to be desired. Labor-intensive, metal-intensive, and energy-intensive technologies senselessly use up a great deal of the people's property. We need to resolutely abandon "production for production's sake" and the "plan for the plan's sake." Everyone agrees on this.

However, we differ in our understanding of how to achieve this, and which development strategy will lead us to the longed-for goal. An influential group of economists believes that it is necessary to abandon acceleration and quantitative economic growth and concentrate on transforming the economy qualitatively.

But the question arises: Does quantity impede quality? Is it necessary to slow down our economic growth rate? Won't we lose one and fail to obtain the other? We must think seriously about this. Especially since it is a question of replacing one formula for the country's development strategy with another. In such matters you must take thorough measurements before starting to cut. It is not inappropriate to return again to examining this question and discuss how well founded this proposal is. This is particularly necessary since we have already had some alarming experiences in the past.

The idea of abandoning quantitative growth for the sake of qualitative economic transformations is not as new as it may appear at first glance. It has already been tested and was not proven correct in practice. We now have glasnost, and I hope that readers will pardon me a revelation that would have been inadmissible in the past but which I think is permissible now. In 1975 the party was preparing for the 25th congress, and I, among others, took part in it. I well recall the document put forward by economists from the USSR Academy of Sciences proving the need to reduce the planned rates of economic growth with a view to structurally transforming the economy and boosting quality and efficiency. Doubts and misgivings were also expressed then. But as usual, the lofty titles of the academy's members and its prestige gained the upper hand. The idea impressed the leadership because a year earlier L. Brezhnev had said something similar in Moldavia.

So 1976 came, and the 25th Congress went. Talking about the tasks of the 10th 5-Year Plan, Brezhnev noted that "for a number of items somewhat lower growth rates have been envisaged than in the 9th 5-Year Plan." Brezhnev asked: What's the reason for this? He replied: "...We have endeavored in this 5-year plan to ensure greater balance and proportionality in economic development and create better conditions for boosting the qualitative indicators of work." On this basis the 10th 5-Year Plan was proclaimed the 5-year plan of efficiency and quality.

What happened then? This is indicated by figures that anyone can find in the statistical anthology "The USSR's Economy Over the Past 70 Years."

The reduction in growth rates in the 10th 5-Year Plan proved to be no temporary phenomenon but the expression of a stable trend, and these rates fell even further in the 11th 5-Year Plan. What about the promised increase in efficiency and quality? That did not take place either. Admittedly, according to official State Committee for Statistics data, there was some quantitative growth: There was an annual increase of 3-4 percent in global social product, national income, and industrial output.

It cannot be denied that the rates were low, but if only they had been real! Yet the unremitting shortage not only of consumer goods but also of means of production illustrates quite the reverse. We turn to the same anthology of statistics for confirmation.

In 1986 the volume of industrial production rose by 126 percent in comparison with 1980. That is, in terms of value, but what about in physical terms? We calculated the physical increase for 150 main types of industrial output and got quite a curious picture. Not only did 46 kinds of output show no increase over 6 years, but there also was actually a decrease. We produced less of the following than we did 6 years previously: metal-cutting machine tools; forging and pressing machines; steel smelting, rolling, and many types of mining equipment; printing, hackling, and spinning machines; weaving looms; cranes; bulldozers; grader trucks; harvesting combines; cameras; certain types of furniture and children's goods; and many other things.

The 24 types of output for which production growth exceeded the mean industrial level included robots, individual types of machines, and chemical goods. But the proportion of these in industrial production is insignificant. On the other hand, the volume of output accounting for a considerable proportion of industrial production has grown only slowly. In 6 years the extraction of oil, coal, and ore and the production of steel, sheet iron, watches, china, radio receivers, and many other types of output rose by less than 1 percent. That is typical of a stagnant economy.

A natural question arises: How can there be an increase in value if the physical volume of a considerable proportion of output has not increased but has in many respects decreased?

Take metal-cutting machine tools. In the 6 years production dropped from 216,000 to 164,000, yet the value rose, on the contrary, by 50 percent. The same happened with forging and pressing machines; the quantity also decreased, but the value rose. This happened with many other types of output, too.

People may say that the decrease in quantity is not a calamity if the quality rose and products became more sophisticated. In that case labor productivity would have soared and we would have had really high growth rates. In fact this did not happen and the problem of quality is equally acute today.

At a recent session of the USSR Council of Ministers attention was drawn to the fact that many enterprises, taking advantage of the rights they have been granted, are deliberately reducing output. But in this case it is reasonable to ask how such enterprises hope to guarantee the income they need. Clearly by raising prices. Indeed, in 1985 an 8-axle VL-10 electric locomotive cost R256,000, but a new 12-axle VL-15 costs R915,000—260 percent more, although its capacity has risen only by 70 percent.

We don't think that the producer's desire to line his pockets at the consumer's expense will lessen with the transfer to complete economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing, but rather will intensify. So a considerable proportion of our economic growth is the result of producing costlier output. It is also alarming that what has happened in our country has been no one-shot fall in production but a gradual slide into a state of crisis, followed by a protracted period of stagnation from which we have still not emerged. It is the task of restructuring to find a way out of the crisis in which we have found ourselves.

We must effect radical structural transformations in the economy. But I don't think that we should abandon the course of acceleration for this. On the contrary, we must persistently implement this course. But here it is a question of a fundamentally different type of growth from before. Moreover, it must occur in a different way in every sector.

For instance, it is important in metallurgy, certain machine-building sectors, and the textile and footwear industry to ensure that enterprises transfer to a new technical base, and then a certain reduction in production may be possible as the market becomes saturated.

But there is a group of sectors where high growth rates are needed, and above all in agriculture, which is working far below its capacities—not, moreover, due to its technical lag, but owing to the predominance of backward economic relations. They are also needed in the services sphere, whose expansion may be viewed as a necessary source of production growth, and in household and educational electronics. Specialists reckon that our industry is quite ready to expand these.

The resolution of these tasks and a number of others must not be postponed indefinitely until transformations changing the qualitative structure of our economy have been effected. Such an approach may have the same result as before. We have lost a minimum of 12 years and we are still losing valuable time.

I think that we must have a clear answer to the question of what the true reason for our lag is. In my opinion, it is the bureaucratic style of leadership and the low quality of our labor. We have created a system of "wages" protection that enables many people to live reasonably without really exerting themselves. Virtually everyone is guaranteed work and wages. Many people obtain additional income in the black economy. Not everyone is provided with housing, but no one sleeps under bridges. We don't have the property polarization, glaring forms of which typify many capitalist countries. Everyone has adapted to the situation, some better than others, but few people want to take risks with their stable, albeit far from brilliant, situation. Logically our acquisitions turned into fetters hampering creative thought and activity.

You don't believe me? Go to the collectives of enterprises producing poor-quality goods and say: "Comrades, your output is worthless and we won't buy it any more. Think about how you can earn yourselves a living." You will see that they will be dissatisfied, and it is not impossible that this may lead to a strike if there are any hitches with wages. This is graphic evidence that people are not the masters of production. Masters don't strike; subordinates from whom something has been taken away strike. Paternalistic relations of mutual amnesty have been established at many enterprises between the higher-ups and the lower echelons: We forgive you for your bad work and you forgive us for our bad leadership.

The vicious circle of forgiveness can be broken by the creation of new economic and political relations: glasnost; democracy; elections; complete economic accountability; the lease, cooperation, and individual labor initiative.

It is not so easy to actually implement complete economic accountability. Former habits remain. Having learned from bitter past experience, many collectives are afraid of taking risks and assuming responsibility. A great deal is now being said in the press about the fact that ministries are not surrendering their positions and are not abandoning the bureaucratic edict methods. All the firepower of criticism is directed against them. Is lack of initiative among the lower echelons a lesser evil? Many enterprises are suited with 100-percent state orders: Sale of output is guaranteed and there's no need to think about what to do with unnecessary combines, tractors, footwear, and many other things.

The turnaround that must be effected in this sphere entails grave social consequences. Enterprises must be fully responsible for the results of their production activity, and their income must be made directly dependent on the collective's labor contribution. Superfluous people must be dismissed to reduce expenses. No one agrees with this. Still, one of two choices must be made: Either complete responsibility for the collective, in which case superfluous people must be dismissed; or return to the old setup and thus to the old inflated staffs. There's no other option.

The presence of a considerable amount of useless labor in society has led to such a deformation of economic life as a chronic shortage of goods. Whatever you take, there's not enough of it; that's one of the horrifying consequences of long-term inflation. What does it constitute, and how can it be combatted? This will be discussed in the next article.

New Year's Economic Tasks Reviewed

PM1511095188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "The Economy At the End Of the Year. Creating Firm Groundwork For Smooth Work"]

[Text] A little more than 6 weeks remain until a new year—the fourth year—of the 5-year plan. The latest USSR Supreme Soviet session examined in detail and ratified the plan and budget for the new economic year. The socioeconomic tasks facing our society have become USSR laws that need to be executed throughout the country's territory. The Law on the State Plan pointed out that the practical implementation of the directives of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference on the problems of the country's socioeconomic development must be considered the main area of work for all soviet and economic organs in 1989. We know that these directives depend on the processes of democratization, on a comprehensive increase in the social and political activeness of all strata of society, on the restructuring of the political system, and on the implementation of radical economic reform.

The most important result of the first 3 years of the 5-year plan is that our economy has overcome the precrisis state, and the process of the normalization of the national economy has begun. Economic growth rates have risen, fundamental industrial sectors have begun to work more stably, and the effectiveness of production is being enhanced. Soviet people's living conditions are improving on the basis of the social reorientation of the economy.

Nonetheless, before the beginning of the new year of the 5-year plan we cannot and must not flatter ourselves with the results of this year. We have still not compensated for the lag in the first 2 years of the 5-year plan. A number of negative tendencies characteristic of bureaucratic-edict methods of leadership in planning, material and technical supply, and the work of ministries and even of many labor collectives have still not been overcome. This has prevented us from improving the population's food supply, reducing the imbalance between monetary income and high-quality goods, normalizing and strengthening finances, and doing away with cost-based approaches in social production.

Next year all sectors will work under the conditions of the new economic mechanism. However, at present not all of its elements have shown their positive effect on the work of enterprises. This applies especially to the first form of economic accountability [khozraschet], which only feebly links people's wages with the end result of their labor. A number of sectoral and local leaders are still continuing to exert pressure on production through gross output indicators. Direct long-term economic ties between enterprises are being expanded only slowly, and wholesale trade in the means of production is being organized with difficulty.

Forms of economic relations that would stimulate an increase in the contribution made by every member of society to the development of production, reinforce their personal interest in achieving the highest labor results, and strengthen workers' responsibility and discipline should be introduced in order to rectify the situation. This is being made possible by the mass use of the lease contract not only in the countryside but also in other sectors, the healthy development of the cooperative movement, and the transfer of industry and construction to the second, more progressive, form of economic accountability.

The new principles of economic activity and the resolute acceleration of technical progress should ultimately result in the increase in labor productivity considerably outstripping the increase in wages. That is how we can overcome the imbalance in the domestic market, price increases, and the shortage of commodities and food products.

Careful expenditure of natural resources, all types of fuel, raw materials, power, manpower, and financial resources greatly accelerates the processes of production intensification. At present the metal-intensiveness and power-intensiveness of the national income is decreasing more slowly than planned. Cost-based approaches in capital construction cause particularly great damage. That is why the 1989 plan intends to substantially improve the correlation between the end and intermediary product on the basis of resource-saving. With an overall increase in industrial production of 4 percent and in processing sectors of 4.5 percent, the output of fuel and raw material sectors will rise by just 2.3 percent. This compels each one of us to be a zealous proprietor.

There is potential for saving resources everywhere. See how carelessly metal is used. Last year machine-building enterprises processed 53.6 million tonnes of ferrous metals. Almost 15 million tonnes went as waste. In comparison with 1985 there has been virtually no decrease in the proportion of waste products. Metal workers are producing a great deal of commercial-grade metal in the drive to increase tonnage but are not meeting designers' demand for high-strength brands of rolled metal, sheet metal, and pipes. It is no coincidence that our national machines and equipment are notable for their excessive metal-intensiveness. Trucks and agricultural machines are 16 and 30 percent inferior respectively to their best foreign counterparts in terms of weight, and equipment for the light and food industries is on average 25 percent heavier. It is clear that it is not only necessary to compile but also to fulfill in practice programs to reduce metal-intensiveness in order to rapidly resolve the problem.

A healthy economy relies on profitable work and a continual increase in economically accountable income in each production echelon. Yet there are still many unprofitable enterprises, trusts, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes in the country. They often produce a volume of output smaller than the resources they expend. Where do they get their funds? Simple: They live off other labor collectives that are working with high return. This extremely negative problem must be resolved before the start of the 13th 5-Year Plan. Moreover, the financial state of low-profitability and unprofitable enterprises must be improved under conditions of economic accountability, not so much by injecting monetary resources from above as by boosting all economic work and involving all workshops, sectors, and teams in full economic accountability.

Our main job here is to pull up the roots that nurture indifference to labor, social freeloading, passivity, and bad management, and to interest people economically in reducing costs and improving the quality of the output they produce. It is equally important to cut the inflated management apparatus.

Sometimes these measures do not produce the required effect of overcoming loss-making. What should be done then? The experience of many enterprises and trusts in the Moscow area shows that transferring unprofitable workshops and plants to the lease contract and creating cooperatives produces a good effect. Here it is important to bring all the main principles of complete economic accountability to every work place. That is the most important task now.

Now that next year's program has been ratified, the success of the work is in many respects determined by the level of economic activity at the closing stage of this year. The better every enterprise is working at the end of this year, the firmer the foundation it lays for next year's work. Portfolios must be immediately filled with orders, direct economic ties with partners must be made more specific, and we must enter the winter—the most difficult time of the year—fully armed.

Before the beginning of the new year, our entire economy must quicken its step. We must remember that the next—the fourth—stage of the 5-year plan holds a special place in Soviet economic development. As of 1 January 1989 all enterprises are transferring to complete economic accountability and self-financing. The more enterprises choose the most progressive second form of economic accountability and the more actively economic managers switch to the principles of the lease contract, the more substantial will be the results of the radical economic reform and of restructuring.

New Cooperative Group Chief on Economy

LD1511062788 Moscow TASS in English 0542 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 15 by TASS correspondent Valeriy Afanasyev

Viktor Korchagin, a 48-year-old worker and at the same time chairman of Moscow's cooperative Feniks, became president of the new cooperative association Rossia. He was unanimously elected by all 62 delegates who recently gathered at the conference hall of the Economics Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences in Moscow. Conference delegates represented over 1,000 cooperatives in the Russian Federation.

Korchagin was clearly not elected to the post by accident. He is well versed in production methods and has been studying political economy in his spare time and in particular problems of cooperation, for over a decade. His theoretical background can be judged at least by the list of authors whose works he studied: Marx, Lenin, Smith, Marshall, Keynes, Galbraith and Popov. If we add that, apart from impressive experience and theoretical background, Korchagin is energetic and has real practical ability, it will be clear that the Rossia Association got the president it really needed. Especially during its first few steps.

What will be the first steps of the association?

"Above all, protection of the cooperative movement," answers Korchagin. "There are serious problems with the establishment and development of the movement," he holds. "The main thing now is to inculcate in members of cooperatives confidence in the future. They need to be aware of their firm position and that society needs them and that, therefore, they are not temporary phenomena." In the opinion of the Rossia president, their present hesitancy has a real basis. He recalled the well-known story about the decree on progressive taxation of cooperatives. True, the operation of the decree was suspended in June but anxiety persists: How will things shape up in future?

Incidentally, cooperatives are quite an impressive force in the USSR now. At present there are 700,000 members of cooperative societies in the country, who annually contribute 2.6 billion roubles to the state. It is expected that this figure will rise to 11-12 billion in 1990. It means that both cooperatives, consumers of their goods and services, as well as the state should be interested in the prosperity of cooperatives. It means that all of them should try to raise the prestige of the cooperative movement. "However, there are no spectacular successes in this respect so far," says the president with regret. The population tends to regard them with suspicion due to their high prices, and state-run enterprises obviously don't hold them in high esteem due to competition they provoke. Relations with local authorities don't always shape up in the best way either.

"All this," says Viktor Korchagin, "was discussed at the conference held at the Economics Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Speakers cited interesting examples which convinced us that it was necessary to have a prestigious association which would protect cooperatives and its members. Our association hopes to fulfil precisely this role."

In our conversation Viktor Korchagin touched on such an acute problem as racketeering. It turned out that cooperatives were especially worried over the growing number of cases of the so-called "bureaucratic racketeering" which have occurred in the recent past. Local authorities arbitrarily set various levies and duties, say, for issuing certificates and even for rubber-stamping documents. The president believes that the Rossia Association can help its members in this respect too.

This alliance of businessmen have ambitious plans. "All our work will be based on the principles of full economic freedom of the association's members and non-interference in their commercial activities," claims Viktor Korchagin. "We intend to render legal and financial assistance to cooperatives. For this purpose we shall set up a cooperative for legal affairs and a commercial bank. The fundamentals of market economy will be taught at a paid school of managers. The association's charter also provides for setting up insurance, information and foreign trade organizations."

"Couldn't this lead to you becoming the supreme chief of all cooperatives in Russia?" I asked the president.

"By no means," he replied. "By establishing the association, nobody seeks to 'usurp' power in the cooperative movement. By the way, this is impossible. for in this case cooperatives will cease to be cooperatives."

Agricultural

Gorbachev Speaks at Orel Food Supply Conference

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["Speech by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev at the Conference in Orel on 15 November"]

[Text] Comrades, we are ending our meeting in Orel. I think, given the composition of its participants, of the problems and the scale of questions examined during this meeting, that it goes far beyond the framework of a run-of-the-mill event. If we take into account the fact that it is taking place during a very important stage in restructuring, and that fundamental questions of our domestic policy are at the center of attention—above all questions connected with solving the food problem—then I would say that it is destined to become, obviously, an important event in the life of party and the country. I think it moves forward on good ground, along the path of a deeper interpretation of the questions on agrarian policy, that we will discuss at the February Party Central Committee Plenum.

We have acquainted ourselves with the work experience of Orel Oblast. In this connection I would like to note the high standard and sound reasoning of the information which we received by listening to reports by comrade Stroyev, first secretary of the party oblast committee, by leaders of kolkhozes and sovkhozes; and by leaders of collectives working by lease contracting, who spoke at the meeting.

We have visited kolkhozes and sovkhozes, spoken with people working on lease contracting: farm leaders, specialists. We have met several times with you—good and human meetings and conversations—with inhabitants of this remarkable Russian area. This was no less important and instructive. In any case, we agree on this, I think: A fuller picture has been painted here of the scale of the work required to restructure economic relations in the countryside. We will no doubt not overestimate the situation if we say that in the Orel area this is already a nationwide movement. And no less important is that it is already showing results; it reflects positively in production activity, in the economic indices of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and, ultimately, in the fulfilment of delivery plans to the union and republican funds, and the delivery of supplies to the oblast's population. Here, everything is logically linked and depends on everything else.

We have felt that this work by the party organization and the entire agrarian sector is highly valued by working people in the oblast. These are the concrete results of restructuring, which can be felt by people themselves.

Of course, during those meetings, in the course of those 2 short but full days, meeting each other, we were able to exchange views to check each other's position, to compare plans for the future, and to compare approaches to tackling the food problem. This is necessary, and useful too. After all, at issue are, indeed, major and vital questions that directly touch the interests of all Soviet people and the whole country.

It seems to me that the comradely dialogue that took place and the exchange of views during those meetings, both here and during the visit to the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, provide us with good food for thought, because every meeting contained accumulated experience from work under these or other specific conditions in this or that region of the country. This is very important for us all, because agriculture is practiced in our country under diverse natural, geographical, and socioeconomic conditions.

What conclusions come to mind on the results of these 2 days of work? **First:** The experience from the work of the people of Orel confirms the correctness of the main direction chosen by us and aimed at the fundamental restructuring of economic relations in rural areas, at applying financial autonomy, developing leasing, and creating conditions to reestablish man as the true master of agricultural production. These conditions will return him to the land and to the means of production. All zones of the country and all branches of the agro-industrial complex now have some degree of experience in leasing relations. This was discussed in quite a broad and detailed way at the meeting in the party Central Committee on 12 October. The documents on the meeting were published. They elicited a great response not only from rural workers, but from the whole country. Obviuosly, there is no need now to again expound on all aspects of this problem or enter into specifics on these questions. We have satisfied ourselves everywhere in practice that the transfer to new management methods in rural areas, the restructuring of production relations and, first and foremost, lease relations are yielding a rapid effect. Both yesterday and today we were again able to satisfy ourselves of this in the Orel area. This is shown not only by the experience of individual lease collectives, but by all kolkhozes and sovkhozes that transfered to leasing.

Yesterday you and I familiarized ourselves with the work of the 22nd Party Congress Kolkhoz in Orlovskiy Rayon, and the 20th Party Congress Kolkhoz in Uritskiy Rayon. And look—in literally the past 2 to 3 years these farms have reached high yields and animal productivity. This has changed all the economic results of the farms in question and has substantially generally influenced all aspects of life in these collectives. But it is not only a matter of the production indicators, which are, of course, very important in themselves. Yesterday we met with people who have started thinking in a new way. Their attitudes to the job, to work, to prospects for developing their farms, have changed. They are thinking about the social and cultural development of their villages. They are thinking about how to provide more and better quality output to supply workers and residents in their towns. These people are truly people of the state; self-confident and solving major tasks. Here I want to express to them on behalf of all the participants in this meeting sincere gratitude, a big thank you, for their creative, innovative labor, and for the statesmanlike standpoint that they firmly embrace. They are notself-seekers.... (applause) These are not self-seekers chasing a quick ruble. We talked with people who were thinking about the working class, about the country. That is fine, comrades! That is how to establish the feeling of mastery, to overcome alienation from the land and the means of production, and to change a person's view of his relationship to society and, of course, to his comrades. The main thing is that you and I heard it all from the mouths of those very people. They are proud of their new position, of their achievements.

Second: Here we have learned again that a real push for lifting the agrarian sector is provided by a close linkage between the restructuring of production-economic relations and the transformation of living conditions in the countryside. The experience of Orel shows once again how the creative involvement of people in the hamlets, villages and settlements grows wherever they feel real concern for their life and for improving their working and living conditions. Therefore, we must change the direction of capital investments more boldly; increase the volumes and rates of social reconstruction in the countryside and villages; build more housing, schools, hospitals and roads as well as more trade, cultural, communal, and welfare establishments. All possibilities and sources should be utilized to this end. As we can see, they are not waiting in the Orel area, not counting on some uncle doing this work for them. They have turned the reconstruction of the villages into a universal concern. The "100 Program," as it is called, has not escaped your attention. This is experience of tremendous significance.

So what is it about? It is about resolving in a short time the task of overcoming the unprofitability gap [otstavaniye ubytochnosti] of kolkhozes and sovkhozes through a concentration of material and financial resources, the efforts of construction workers, and the attention of party, soviet, and economic organs. And this has become the task of the whole party organization and all the working people of the Orel region.

I have been told that this "100 Program" has been entrusted primarily to the oblast agroprom's construction workers. In addition, the oblast's construction organizations which are carrying out capital construction in cities have also shouldered this problem. I think that there is great experience here and it is applicable to many regions.

When we were visiting one of the settlements, Comrade Stroyev explained that in fact all this is being done in the framework of the resources and capital investments that have been allocated. The oblast has been given nothing extra but it has changed its approach to the use of capital investments and the resources and capacities of construction organizations in general. They have taken the path of concentration here and determined their approach to the problem via this program. Resources were available before, too. But they were scattered, disspiated, and did not yield results. But now this approach has immediately produced very interesting results. Villages and settlements that were essentially deserted are being restored to life; land and agricultural tracts are being brought back into rotation. It turns out that there are many people today wishing to move to the countryside and engage in agricultural labor.

I don't know about you, but the speeches by Yelena Sergeyevna Znamenskaya and Vladimir Erbertovich Rays, the leaders of the lease collectives, made a great impression on me. Yelena Sergeyevna was once a town dweller, she was born there, graduated from technical college, and worked as a technician-construction worker according to her training. Now she has taken on new work, and it must be said, it is turning out well.

Comrade Rays came from distant Kazakhstan. He received a hearty welcome here; he found new friends and has already succeeded in doing a great deal in less than 2 years. Indeed, it is remarkable that Comrade Znamenskaya has succeeded in increasing the collective's milk production by 1,500 kg and Comrade Rays by 1,800 kg in just 2 years.

But even that is not what it is about. I was truly gladdened by the thoughts, opinions, and ideas of these people. Their earnings are not bad, but that is not what is most important to them at the moment. Here they told us how they see the further development and the future life of those villages which they live in. These are exceptionally important signs of the new, present time, the great changes which are taking place in the countryside, in people's attitudes, in their views and in their souls.

Third: When you look at what is being done under such difficult conditions in Orel Oblast, the question naturally arises: Why don't they do this in other places, in other regions where there are far better opportunities for this? Why do many people still wait for something, count on something, to put it bluntly, remain dependent on someone else? I have already spoken about this, but I think that today there is reason to say that this kind of approach is unacceptable; it is fundamentally mistaken.

I warmly support the undertakings and practical deeds by the people of Orel, I mean the working people in the countryside and in the town, the work of party organizations, the local soviets, the Komsomol, the trade unions, all society, on restructuring the agrarian sector. We must tell the whole country that the time has come for all to change their old approaches, to renew their thinking and actions. Generally, as people say, to roll their sleeves up and get down to business.

Fourth: Getting to know the affairs of Orel Oblast confirms once again that increasing the production of foodstuffs now depends primarily on how the questions of restructuring economic relations in the countryside are being solved. This is the most important thing. Everyone must fully understand this. Why do I find it necessary to mention this again? Because both the last session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, and the sessions of the soviets of other republics, show that many have not yet taken it to heart and continue—just as they did 5 and even 10 years ago—to insist in all their speeches that agriculture—its material and technical supply—lacks a great deal.

Yes, comrades. That's right. Apart from some of the emotions that accompany such pronouncements—if we discard them, then these pronouncements are essentially correct. I'm not sweeping them under the carpet. There are still many shortages. And a great deal is being done now to see that this is also resolved more quickly—I mean in matters that affect equipment and the means of chemicalization, without which modern, intensive techniques cannot be assimilated. The processing base lags far behind. Bad roads cause great losses in the countryside. These are all real problems, decisions have now been taken on them, and work is underway.

But the main thing that I want to stress again is the restructuring of production relations. Just look and see how collectives working on a lease-contracting basis make use of both the land and the buildings, both the machinery and the fertilizer, and it turns out that these collectives achieve considerably higher results with fewer resources. The experience of the working people of Orel Oblast also points to precisely this. They have no special advantages over others as far as the material and technical base is concerned. As I have already said, it is even worse than many of the country's republics and oblasts. I say that, comrades, because poor and incompetent work in managing agriculture, and low results in a number of regions, are being justified only by references to the shortage of material and technical resources. Nothing major has happened regarding the material base in Orel Oblast over the last 2 years but economic relations have begun to change radically, they have begun to work and they are bringing results.

Fifth: As can be seen, we have already entered a period of deep reforms in the agrarian sector; both scientific data and accumulated experience confirm that our strategic choice is the correct one, but restructuring demands that we move scientific research in the agrarian sector solidly forward. Here I support very warmly what was said in this connection by Vladimir Ilich Kalashnikov. In restructuring economic relations—as in industry and other areas, by the way—there must be solid movement, with the locomotive at the front, as they say. At the same time, however, there must be thought about new technologies, about an emphasis on using the achievements of science and technology, for these are two sides of one and the same process: the socioeconomic development of the country.

Many theoretical and practical problems linked with the restructuring of production relations, with structural policy, with the location of agricultural production, and with the development of the agrarian sector's infrastructure indeed have accumulated here in our country. We now must reach a completely new level of understanding of how we must use in practice the potential of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes themselves, of how we can reveal the possibilities laid down in socialist ownership. Finally, of no less importance for us is the working out and study of the problems of harmonizing the development of kolkhozes and sovkhozes with that of citizens' private subsidiary holdings, subsidiary agricultural enterprises in industry, trade, and so on, and the problem of how to harmonize the development of the agrarian sector with that of the country's industrial sector. We also must carry out a deep scientific study of many practical issues linked with carrying out the improvement and draining of land, with achieving the optimum location of crops and branches of livestock farming, and with the social development of the countryside. Here we have the right to count not just on a growing contribution from VASKHNIL scientists, but from those of the USSR Academy of Sciences, too.

As you see, Comrades, we still have a great deal to think over and solve. Of course, we must improve thoroughly the party's work with regard to the provision of organizational back-up for the restructuring of economic relations in the countryside and the social reconstruction of rural areas. Again and again we are being convinced of the fact that the way things are going in any particular republic, kray, or oblast, on any particular kolkhoz or sovkhoz depends to a considerable extent on the way our cadres, party organizations, and party committees act. We have to say it directly, comrades: We are a long way behind in this respect. The country needs a resolute improvement in food supplies, and we have experience of how this task can be solved more quickly. A sharp turnabout finally has started in the awareness of rural workers of the need for changes in the countryside. However, all this is being held back to a considerable extent by the position of some cadres. It must be admitted that in many cases our agro-industrial complexes and our party and local soviet bodies are slow to carry out this work and are playing a waiting game. What is the reason? What is the matter here? Going over to lease relations and financial autonomy undermine the base of the administration-by-injunction system, the system of unwarranted interference to which comrades, many of our cadres have become very much accustomed, while others are completely incapable of working in any other way anymore. All this is very serious. The entire party has a responsibility to the people to solve this task. It should make use of both its experience and all its potential in order to give all-round support to the processes of restructuring economic relations and of social development in the countryside. This is vitally necessary for the country.

Since this is the case, it is necessary to resolutely change our work methods. I would say outright that where things are moving slowly or where everything simply remains as it was in the olden days, we are coming up against those self-same old methods and approaches. After all, methods do not exist by and for themselves! The issue ought to revolve around specific people, specific purveyors of obsolete approaches and views. This is how we should set out the issue. The time has come, as they say, to go from general conversations to specific appraisals of cadres and party committee activities.

After all, everything we see here in Orel Oblast was done with great, enormous work by the party organization, work that was carried out in conjunction with the working people of the countryside and towns, and with the leading cadres as well. This proceeded on the basis of a resolute renunciation of the bureaucratic work method of which Comrade Stroyev spoke convincingly here.

Currently, in connection with the advent of the winter months, work results are being summed up throughout the country, including the work results of those collectives that used the new methods of running the economy, and that work on the principles of lease-contracting. Plans for the future are being elaborated. This is the most auspicious time for the party organizations throughout the country, together with those who work in the countryside, to think over jointly how to get the restructuring of production relations moving resolutely in the countryside.

It seems to me that the position of the party committees and of our leading cadres on this question is of decisive significance. This means that this position should be taken and practical work arranged in accordance with this position.

Comrades, in resolving the primary and burning problems in our lives we must focus our attention on the whole range of issues that determine the present circumstances. We must also accurately correlate all of this to the near and distant future. We have now entered a very complex period in society, a time of crucial decisions and practical deeds. In the fundamental social transition taking place in our country the most simple and radical path, as it were, is not always possible—casting off everything old with a single stroke and replacing it with something new. We all want rapid change for the better; that is perfectly understandable. But life is far more complex. The struggle between the old and the new isn't a painless one and sometimes it is accompanied by acute conflict. One of the most important lessons of the first years of restructuring is to see all this and to realistically assess the situation without rushing to one side or the other or getting distracted by a search for easy paths.

Yes, things are still difficult for us. But the fact that the process of restructuring is being accompanied by an increase in people's social activeness, a search for new solutions, and indeed by the first achievements inspires optimism. Look, our contemporary life has changed beyond recognition. People are emerging from a state of passivity, apathy, and indifference, and are decisively assuming civil positions. You see, these are very important characteristics of the deep changes taking place in society.

When we began our restructuring we calculated that implementing the policy we had worked out would evoke just such processes and lead our society out of stagnation, apathy, and indifference. Today we are witnesses of and participants in an extremely interesting process. Under the conditions of expanding democracy and glasnost the politicization of the masses is increasing. People's attitudes to politics are changing literally before our eyes. Alienation and indifference are becoming things of the past. The aspiration for change is becoming the personal interest of many millions of people in the country. Of course, such a stormy process cannot develop unambiguously, along a single line, as it were. It takes place in a struggle between various points of view, positions, in discussions, arguments about where to go and how and about the aim of our movement. There are also extremes. But something else can also be perceived. The years of restructuring are giving us all fresh knowledge and experience, greater wisdom, and good sense, and this will undoubtedly have a positive effect, and contribute to the consolidation of society around the ideas and tasks of restructuring.

Yes, we have been discussing, learning, finding out about the past, thinking about the present and the future a great deal today in our heated arguments. This is quite remarkable. An avalanche of urgent and specific tasks and practical matters has come down on top of us. People are enormously interested in the philosophy of renewal and its general design, so to speak. It is no coincidence that the question of socialism is at the center of discussion now—what have we built, what are we rebuilding, what will socialism be like in the future, what are the general socialist criteria [sotsialistichnost]?

Let us take our economy: It is undoubtedly a socialist economy, based on public ownership of the means of production, having at its disposal the huge experience of conducting a planned economy which provides considerable social gains. But one also cannot fail to see the results of the influence of the contradictory trends which have built up over the past 7 decades. There is also no doubt that the present model of a socialist economy and the level of its efficiency do not correspond to the internal potential which is contained in the socialist system of management, or to the requirements of the current stage of development. We see this and we know why it has happened. The main point is this: It is not socialism which is at issue, but our weaknesses and inability to make proper use of the enormous potential of socialism.

We understand this. We are now acting to ensure that through financial autonomy, leasing, the cooperatives—by restructuring economic relations—we shall return the individual to being the active master of production and overcome his alienation from the means of production, which came about in the era of the supremacy of the command and administration system.

The greatest damage to our society was done by the blunders in the very notions of the characteristics of a socialist structure, primarily relating to social justice. How did this happen? We placed the emphasis—and rightly so—on providing people with social security. We achieved a lot here, and are justly proud of it. But at the same time we allowed—and as experience itself has now shown, we should not have done—a decrease in the significance of the productive side of socialist relations. We weakened the encouragement of high results in work, which led in the final analysis to implanting excessive leveling into society—the psychology of social free-loading. It is essentially very bad when a person does not worry about his future. Social security in such circumstances easily turns into the exact opposite: it weakens incentives and initiative, and has a negative effect on people's attitudes to work. In this connection I should like to stress that the only truly humanitarian social security is that which makes people better, harder-working, and both materially and spiritually richer.

Our notions of the role and methods of the centralized planned management of socioeconomic development have been distorted. In our practice planning has frequently amounted to harsh administration by injunction, while democratic centralism was frequently violated because of the omnipotence of departments, the adoption of willful decisions, and insufficient consideration of different public interests.

These and other deformed and vulgarized notions of the economic role of the socialist state are closely connected with the protracted underappreciation of the objective role of the market in socialism. Despite the data of many years and despite the experience, the dogmatic contrast between the plan and the market continues to dominate. Meanwhile, experience shows that management by planning which ignores market criteria and verification through the market, is just as deficient as the market which is not regulated by the plan. Not only does the plan not run counter to the market, it becomes trustworthy and realizable only with the use of market levers. Genuine differences between socialism and capitalism do not lie in the denial of the market or the plan, but how and in whose interests both the plan and the market are used. And here we reach the main criterion of the socialist nature of any kind of social forms—of institutions and of transformations. It lies in the answer to the question: What is man? Does he represent the means or the ends? The most destructive distortion of the Leninist conception of socialism, which was passed on to us by past years, consists precisely in this: that man—let us say it straight away—was changed increasingly from being of the highest value and the reason for social development, into a tool for solving various economic and political tasks. And although when restructuring began the most serious distortions of this type were eliminated, as yet we cannot say that we have fully solved this problem. This is what we will still have to do on the path toward a qualitatively new state of society and a new face for socialism.

The reform of the political system is on the agenda now. This is not a simple redistribution of power; it is not a swapping posts and changing signboards. The main aim of the political reform is to ensure the powerful sovereignty of the people [narodovlastiye].

Immediately after October, when the Soviet state was being built, Vladimir Ilich Lenin spoke frequently about a miraculous device which makes it possible to increase its power by a factor of ten: drawing the broad masses of the people into participating in the country's government.

Under the present conditions we have, in fact, again set about implementing the task. We have to clear all distortions from our ideas about state forms and functions. We are restoring the idea that soviets are full-blooded organs of people's self-government and, simultaneously, the party's role is being interpreted under the new conditions as that of the genuine political vanguard of society. In general, the political reform affects the electoral system, the organs of power at the center and in the regions, the methods and style of their activity, and human rights. The judicial and legal reform, the creation of a socialist law-governed state, will be an organic part of the reconstruction of the political system. We must see clearly that a project of such colossal scale and complexity cannot be fulfilled at once. Some sort of stages are unavoidable. We had to start, of course, by shaping truly democratic, broadly representative organs of central power. This is how we are acting.

Broad discussion of the draft law on amendments and supplements to the USSR Constitution and the Law on Elections of People's Deputies of the USSR, which have been published in the press, has been recently developing in society. A very important practical step has been taken in implementing the directives of the 19th party conference. The draft laws and the political practice that will be based on them form the main content of the first stage of the reform. The USSR Supreme Soviet, at which the results of the national discussion will be summed up and the above draft laws examined, will assemble at the end of November. The press has already reported over 80,000 responses. Moreover, these are only the citizens and organizations that are submitting specific proposals and observations.

But millions of people are taking part in the discussions and debates that are going on in the party, public organizations, labor collectives, political clubs, and in the pages of the press. But concerning the essence of the opinions, I will say this: The draft laws are receiving broad support, and people see in them the real embodiment of the decisions of the 19th party conference. At the same time, quite a few critical observations are also being expressed, and constructive proposals are being made. Quite a few proposals go beyond the limits of the present stage of political reform. They must be remembered, as they say, and kept in our field of vision for the future. We are finding among the proposals and observations some that I feel are unacceptable. But I won't start running ahead. The legislative proposals commissions and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Supreme Soviet itself, will look into these matters.

I hope that we will find the optimum solutions together, democratically.

A few words on how the content of the subsequent stage of the political reform looks. At its center is the preparation of a law on local self-management which is intended to give a firm material foundation to the activities of the local soviets. What should the proportion of the local authority budget levy from republican and all-union enterprises be? What is local financial autonomy? These and many other questions are already being discussed, with academics, specialists, local soviet and party workers, and workers in government departments. Obviously, this law is so important that it must be discussed by the whole people.

Improving and harmonizing relations between the USSR and the union republics must occupy a special place in the framework of the second stage of reform. We all well understand that this is not only an economic issue, but a political one. It pertains to the important and delicate sphere of relations between nationalities. At the 19th conference the appropriate resolution was passed on this, but it was only the beginning. It is essential to look thoroughly and deeply into the whole range of problems relating to this important aspect of the life of our multinational state. We hope that an effective, considered program to resolve the tasks of further developing relations between nationalities in the USSR will be drawn up on the basis of Lenin's concept, with the active and creative participation of party and state bodies in the republics, academics, specialists and the broad circles of the public.

The politburo and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Soviet Government keep all these issues constantly within their field of vision. As you know, a Central Committee decision was adopted recently which outlines the implementation of a number of measures relating to preparing for a Central Committee Plenum on relations between nationalities. It is proposed, specifically, to draw up and publish in good time—in 2 months—the Central committee's theses on this issue.

In short, comrades, restructuring and the reform of the political system are creating every opportunity for a deeper and more considered examination of the issues of relations between nationalities. We place great hopes in this connection on the forthcoming USSR congress of people's deputies, the new structure Supreme Soviet, and the Soviet of Nationalities, which will deal directly with this. It is precisely because restructuring creates democratic institutions to examine the solution of any issue of relations between nationalities that it is now exceptionally important to avoid them being artificially stirred up.

It is exceptionally important to avoid judgements and actions that are ill-considered, hasty, and can only charge the atmosphere and exacerbate the situation. I am talking about this because lately we have come up against such instances. There are people who, to be blunt, are acting from nationalistic standpoints, provoking feuds among nationalities, and trying to undermine that holy of holies: the friendship of the peoples of the USSR.

Yes, the conditions of glasnost and democratization have also brought to light quite a few problems in relations among the nationalities. They really do exist; moreover, many of them have become chronic. What I want to say in this connection is that within the framework of restructuring, political reform, democratization, and glasnost, we must discuss widely, examine in the most attentive fashion, and draw up together proposals for solving the problems of further developing relations among the nationalities. We have embarked upon that road; we are moving firmly along it and will proceed. At the same time, however, it must be said in all honesty that we emphatically condemn attempts to aggravate these issues artifically and to make ultimatums. Together we must reject all attempts to foist upon us the kinds of solutions to existing problems that run counter to our internationalist ideology and to the principles of socialism. We are not dramatizing the situation; we are firmly convinced that the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, and the working people of all the union republics see their future on the roads of development of the USSR and strengthening of our fraternal union. [applause]

The idea of internationalism, which always has been alive in the consciousness of our peoples, takes on particular meaning today, under the conditions of restructuring. Indeed, we have embarked upon the road of democratization, glasnost, and the renewal of our life. Restructuring is the great common enterprise of all our peoples, and each one of us will benefit from its results. Now, under conditions of democracy, a high degree of responsibility for words and deeds is needed. It is essential to strive for solutions that serve common interests, our socialist choice. We must see clearly that under the conditions of restructuring, political extremism of a nationalistic persuasion which hampers the normal development of the democratic process and damages our entire cause of the whole people is particularly dangerous and intolerable. [applause] I repeat: All problems, including the nationalities problems, can and will be resolved in the course of the further development of restructuring. Let us all work together, in concert, on all these problems. [applause]

Comrades, restructuring has enabled us to redefine our approach to international affairs, to bring it in line with the realities of the present world. It has given an impetus to Soviet foreign policy, enriched it with new ideas. Our international activity has become more dynamic. It has become more bold politically, more realistic, and therefore achieves more results. Without going to extremes, it can be said that the Soviet Union's open and constructive position has contributed to the change in the international climate. Improvements in the world arena in the past 3 ½ years have been noticable and they enable us to hope for change for the better. Naturally, our advancement on the path toward improving the international situation, just like the prestige of our new thinking, depends in many respects, if not to the decisive extent, on the success of restructuring, on all our work, comrades.

Meanwhile, our foreign policy, while ensuring our participation in the solution of the tasks facing mankind, at the same time helps most directly to solve our domestic tasks, the tasks of restructuring. The start of civilized, normal relations in the world gives as the opportunity to participate more fully in the international division of labor, in the exchange of experiences in economic and management activity, and to join in more fundamentally with world scientific-technical progress on a mutually advantageous basis. We intend to continue to increase our efforts in the foreign policy area and to act constructively in the spirit of the new political thinking.

The search for an efficient solution to the urgent problems in the present world and the improvement of international relations have been the topics in talks I and other members of the leadership have had with statesmen of socialist and capitalist countries in the past 2 months. We proposed new, far-reaching ideas in Krasnoyarsk. In the next few days an important visit to India will take place, during which important talks will be held with the leadership of this great country, which is playing a great role in international affairs. A trip to Cuba and Great Britain is planned for December and before it I plan to speak in New York at the UN General Assembly session and give an account of our views on the most important problems of world development. A lot of work lies ahead. We intend to continue to actively cooperate with socialist countries, with all peoples and governments, to improve international relations and strengthen world security.

One thought in conclusion: many now ask in one way or another how stable is that which is being done in the country in the course of restructuring? Isn't there the danger that the process will be brought to a standstill or even regress. How can I answer this?

In restructuring, there are not and cannot be any guarantees that have been presented in ready-made form and notarized. The real guarantees are created every day and every hour by the people themselves, by our common labor. Restructuring now has entered a phase of its development in which the practical filling of time with deeds is the decisive factor in the effectiveness of all our plans, programs, and undertakings. This is why the priority task of party organizations is to lead this nationwide movement for restructuring, to be the political vanguard of society. I wish you all success in this!

In conclusion, I would like, on behalf of the Central Committee and of all you participants in this meeting in Orel, to say words of gratitude to our hosts, who made it possible for this meeting to be successful, useful, and fruitful. I think that this meeting will continue in all regions of the country, as it took place here—a conversation saturated with care for the people, the country, for restructuring to move in the same important direction as the food program, but more successfully, and for it to bring results. We are taking away from the meetings that have taken place here on the soil of Orel deep impressions of the human contacts, hospitality, and cordiality of the people who live here in the Orel region.

Permit me also on behalf of the representatives of all our country's regions and republics and the center to express our deep feelings and great fellow-feeling to all the working people of the Orel region and to wish them successes on the road upon which they have embarked and already are proceeding with a firm step. [applause]

TASS Reports Gorbachev Speech

LD1511144388 Moscow TASS in English 1420 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Orel November 15 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev said today that the USSR intends to step up its foreign-policy effort, acting constructively in a spirit of new political thinking.

Speaking at a conference on farming here, he took up international problems as well as agricultural issues.

Gorbachev, who is general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the Soviet parliament, said: "There is much work to be done and we intend to continue acting in close cooperation with socialist countries and with all peoples and governments to put international relations on a proper footing and strengthen world security."

He said that he will make an important visit to India in the next few days.

Gorbachev added that he plans trips to Cuba and Britain next month but before that he will address the U.N. General Assembly session in New York to set forth the Soviet Union's views on the more important problems of world development.

Naturally enough, Gorbachev devoted most of his speech to agriculture, which was the subject of the Orel conference attended by party and government leaders and economic executives from different Soviet republics and regions.

He described it as a significant event in the life of the party and the country and said that the exchange of opinions will help work out an agrarian policy for discussion at the forthcoming party Central Committee plenum next February.

Assessing the two days of debates at the conference, Gorbachev said that the experience of the Orel region is convincing proof that the chosen path is right and that leasehold farming can bring fast economic results.

Another conclusion, he added, is that in order to rectify the state of affairs in the economy it is essential to pay much closer attention to social issues.

Gorbachev praised the initiative of the Orel region which has found reserves to increase the building of schools and hospitals and improve amenities for rural dwellers.

He stressed the need for a radical review of economic relations in the countryside as the main condition for boosting agricultural production.

Touching on discussions about socialism, which are under way in the country, Gorbachev said that over the past seven decades the Soviet Union has created a socialist economy based on the public ownership of the means of production and gained a wealth of experience in planned economic development. The efficiency of the modern model of the socialist economy, however, does not fulfil all the inherent potentialities of the socialist system of economic management, he noted.

The present economic difficulties, he said, are rooted "not in socialism as such but in an inability to use the tremendous potential of socialism properly".

This is why, Gorbachev went on to say, the party is now working to overcome the alienation of man from the means of production, which took place during the reign of the command-and-administer system, by promoting profit and loss accounting, leaseholding and cooperative projects, and a review of economic relations.

He then dwelt on issues related to political reform, emphasizing that "it is not a process of rotating appointments or replacing office signs".

"The overriding goal of political reform is ensuring a strong system of popular power," he said.

Gorbachev said the main task is to restore the original, unadulturated ideas about the functions of the government and the forms of its activity and to reinstate the notion of the soviets of people's deputies, or elected local governing councils, as the all-powerful agencies for public self-government.

He added that the role of the party as the real political vanguard of society is also being given thought.

The Soviet leader said that the first phase of political reform covers changes in the system of power and in election procedures.

He noted that countryside debates on proposed constitutional amendments and a draft election law have shown that the absolute majority back the ideas forming the basis of these documents.

The second phase of political reform will include the preparation of a law on local self-government and its adoption after popular discussion.

Efforts to refine and harmonize relations between the Soviet Union as a whole and its constituent republics will feature prominently at the second phase of political reform, Gorbachev said.

In this connection Mikhail Gorbachev emphasized the need to work out an effective well-considered programme for the solution of tasks of the further development of inter-ethnic relations in the USSR. All these matters are constantly in the sphere of attention of the Soviet leadership, he said. A resolution of the CPSU Central Committee adopted recently outlines a number of measures connected with the preparation of a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the party on interethnic relations, to be held in the midst of 1989.

"As perestroyka creates democratic institutes to consider and solve any questions of interethnic relations, it is extremely important to avoid their being artificially whipped up now", the Soviet leader said. He pointed out that "there are persons who act from nationalistic positions, who provoke interethnic strife and try to undermine friendship of peoples of the USSR."

Pointing out that there exist a number of problems in interethnic relations, Mikhail Gorbachev said that decisions on further development of interethnic relations should be openly discussed and worked out jointly in the framework of perestroyka, democratisation and glasnost. At the same time he condemned decisively the attempts to artificially aggravate these questions, to make ultimatum demands. "We should reject every attempt to impose on us such solutions of existing problems as run counter to our internationalist ideology, to principles of socialism", Mikhail Gorbachev said. "We do not dramatize the situation. We are confident that the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, the working people of all union republics link their future with the development of the Land of Soviets, with the consolidation of our fraternal union", he said to stormy applause of the participants in the conference.

Orel Obkom Secretary Speaks

LD1511124088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Speech by Comrade Stroyev, first secretary of Orel Obkom at the CPSU Conference of first secretaries of Union Republic Central Committees, kraykoms and obkoms on restructuring and agricultural policy, held on 14 November in Orel Oblast's House of Soviets]

[Text] [Newsreader] The floor was given to First Secretary of Orel Obkom Comrade Stroyev. He noted that for many years rural life had been declining. People had been leaving their native villages. A solution had to be found:

[Begin recording] [Stroyev] For us it was important to translate the general political situation into concrete tasks for each labor collective. It was necessary for everyone to know his place in the battle order. So we analyzed the situation and did not spare our pride. We studied Moscow Oblast's experience. With our entire aktiv of 100 people we travelled to Lithuania and Belorussia. And on this basis we defined our main tasks, submitted them to the plenum, approved 12 special-purpose comprehensive prorgams, and determined who among which Executive Committee Bureau members would be responsible for implementing them.

Were our cadres ready for such a change?

Now, looking back, it can be said frankly: Of course they were not ready. The leading sections had to strengthened with young but competent and politically mature people in a considerate way, with party tactfulness. Almost 40 new gorkom and raykom secretaries came into the leadership. Managerial personnel in economic bodies were substantially renewed and this was done in good time. The majority of them were able to master the situation quickly and improve the situation. Executive discipline and the level of organization in departments, too, rose considerably.

At the obkom plenum we tried to find ways to overcome the apathy caused by the workers' alienation from ownership and the results of his work. Thus we started vigorously introducing collective contracting in the oblast. Positive experience in this was accumulated in Glazunovka rayon, approved by the party's central committee. Collective contracting made it possible to revive production. But right at the beginning we noticed that it did not ensure control of expenditures on producing output, that is to say, the anti-expenditure mechanism did not operate.

This is why, guided by the decisions of the July plenum on the changeover to financial autonomy and self-financing, we started persistently introducing leasehold contracting everywhere on the basis of the purchase and sale of output and means of production. And from the first step we felt that for the ordinary person this form is the most easily understood. In real life it started turning him into the person in full charge, and, in so doing, ensured strict economic control on production expenditures and on the administrative-managerial staff itself, on the specialists. And, most importantly, at last a form was found of how to free a person's soul and his consciousness. For the first time the possibility emerged of finding out at last who is who, that is to say, of learning the talents and potential of any person. A true assault started on impersonal ownership, the bureaucratic system's main citadel.

As a result we started approaching a situation where the leasehold policy started to be determined not by the apparatus, not in a bureaucratic way, but by the primary labor collective, by the person himself, the producer himself. Communists assumed the leadership of this movement. As a result of painstaking work by party committees and specialists various organizational forms of leasehold collectives emerged in our oblast. Narrowly specialized team sections, not infrequently based on a family or relatives, have become most widespread. We regard this form of leasehold as the most stable, promising and successful for our oblast. Our oblast also has larger subunits with contracts for an entire crop rotation or a livestock farming unit. Narrowly-specialized cooperatives with their accounts in the agricultural bank have also emerged. In a number of rayon centers interfarm cooperatives for meat production have been set up. Cooperatives are being set up to help manage private household plots and particularly to render domestic services for war veterans and disabled soldiers.

The Agrostroy brick works are now being leased out.

It can be said confidently today that leasing has deep roots and it has done so without any administrative pressure. It has given people the idea and on the basis of this idea people who are firm and convinced champions of restructuring have emerged. [end recording]

Production Programs Described

PM1511160388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Nov 88 Second Edition pp 1, 3

[Report by PRAVDA special correspondents V. Kozhemyako and N. Utkin: "Using Experience Too. M.S. Gorbachev's Stay in Orel Oblast"]

[Text] Orel—Little more than a year ago buying a ticket for the Orel-Moscow train was no easy matter, particularly on a Friday. And the "secret" was simple: Many inhabitants of the oblast center were traveling to the capital for foodstuffs, for themselves and for neighbors who would help out next time. These travelers from Orel and from other cities in central Russia were a common sight. Indeed, where do you turn if the local food stores do not have what you need for the table and not everyone can afford the prices in consumer cooperative food stores or at the market?

It looked as though it would take years and years for Orel supplies to improve. But what people were waiting for, what—to be frank—they were dreaming of, began to take place much more quickly. Butter, cheese, pork, eggs, and poultry became freely available in food stores in downtown Orel and on the outskirts. There are state prices, there are no waiting lines, and there are no limits on the amount of food one person can buy. In commission trade departments one can always buy beef, smoked food, and fancy meats—at higher prices, of course. There is a wide choice of dairy products everywhere. If one can go by the customers we talked with, there are no complaints about quality either.

This is, so to speak, a visual assessment of the changes that have taken place in the city on the Oka since April 1985. And here are the statistics: In the past 3 years sales of meat for local supplies have increased by 35 percent and dairy products by 17 percent. This is a substantial increase, the like of which they are still striving for in many oblasts of Russia and other regions of the country. It is entirely logical that Orel Oblast, formerly lagging well behind, should now be increasingly mentioned among those on the way up and its leaders be given the opportunity to share their experience of solving economic and social problems. It is perfectly natural that the CPSU Central Committee should organize here, in Orel, a meeting of first secretaries of union republican Communist Party central committees and party kraykoms and obkoms on topical questions of the CPSU's agrarian policy at the present stage.

M.S. Gorbachev, the other party and government leaders, and all the meeting participants showed great interest in the exhibition that had opened in the obkom foyer. The exhibits represent the achievements of the oblast's agricultural workers. As always, Mikhail Sergeyevich was intensely interested not only in the overall situation, but in the details of what had been accomplished. For example, can one make bread from Orel wheat without adding hard wheat flour? What are the best varieties of apples grown here and how long do they keep? What increaae has there been in yields of buckwheat, peas, and rape? Does the oblast produce enough cheese and bakery products at the moment?... The hosts' answers were detailed and, by and large, satisfactory.

Yes, the Orel breakthrough is an exceptional phenomenon; you would not call it ordinary. The natural question is: How was it possible to achieve such major changes in such a short time?

Many of those present later told us that, on hearing the frank account of the difficult situation of those rather recent years, they compared it with the situation in their own republics, krays, and oblasts and compared the methods used to overcome the lag with those employed in Orel Oblast. Two main thrusts were clearly identified: "Program-100" and "Program-60," implemented on the basis of the lease contract.

What is "Program-100"? It is a plan to give a boost to more than 100 of the weakest farms in the oblast. Those dragging their feet, so to speak. The second program, on the other hand, incorporated the farms which were stronger in economic terms but were making somewhat stuttering progress. It covered 60 farms. Their leaders were content with the results they had achieved. Basically, they had become accustomed to the esteem, to the laurels bestowed on them each year when the competition results were worked out: After all, the front-rankers' absolute indicators were always higher than those of weak and average kolkhozes and sovkhozes—they got the top places and all the benefits too.

The example of the "Zavety Ilicha" Kolkhoz in Uritskiy Rayon, which we visited with a group of meeting participants, will give an idea of the effect of "Program-60." The aktiv and all the kolkhoz members had reacted properly, without offense, to the inclusion of their front-ranking farms among those which had to make a spurt. It was decided at a meeting what had to be done in the next few years and how to achieve a substantial increase in the production of meat, milk, and other items and to reduce costs. The program that was adopted also envisaged assistance on the part of oblast services. It was fully and ably exploited. Intensive housing construction was embarked on in conjunction with the oblast agro-industrial construction administration. Over 2 years 60 farmstead-type houses were built, along with 90 apartments with all conveniences in three-story blocks. As a result it was possible to remove the acute cadre situation from the agenda. More than 100 people arrived in all. They included people who had once left their native region in search of a better life. Feed beet cultivation link leader V. Sotnikov, farmstead chief L. Belyayeva, and dozens of other country people returned. The board and the party organization paid maximum attention to all of them and helped them set up personal subsidiary plots. For example, the large Bondarev family and some others were given free cows and feed.

"Other measures have also been adopted to make life better," kolkhoz board chairman A. Romanov said. "Proper roads have been built to the rayon center and to production areas. Now kolkhoz members have all the social and cultural services they need. The cultural center is as busy as can be. So many people come to amateur concerts and Happy and Resourceful Club competitions with neighboring farms that there is no room to turn around. The kolkhoz members now have the grain grower's sense of pride in his village. People now have a different attitude toward their work. It is not surprising that in 2 years they have managed to raise milk yields, which were stable and considered rather high, by 1,000 kg, sold the state substantially more grain, meat, and potatoes than planned, and increased profitability. The farm started to make so much profit that it was time to start building a central farmstead in accordance with the general plan."

That is one farm. But it is one of many. Similar progress has been made in the other 59 kolkhozes and sovkhozes which were designated front-ranking but which, as it turns out, were by no means fully exploiting their potential. All of them, according to experts' estimates, will increase production by 50-100 percent in the next few years on the basis of intensification and new forms of organization and pay. What forms do they mean? Leasing, primarily, of course. This is what party organizations and rural workers in the oblasts are opting for in the main. The meeting participants concentrated their attention on experience in mastering lease contracts. They heard and saw for themselves how much the new form of management can provide and already is providing. The local lease collectives with which the visitors were acquainted are achieving remarkable results as a rule. The lessees are capable, assiduous managers, who are a powerful and even smarting reproach to those who are either unable or unwilling to conduct a highly efficient operation.

A new path always requires initiative and boldness. But the Orel success was not created in a vacuum. The Orel people closely studied the experience of Moscow Oblast, Lithuania, and Belorussia and were able to apply it creatively.

"We members of the Belorussian delegation listened with satisfaction today to the words of gratitude to us," Grodno Obkom First Secretary L. Kletskov told us. "But the fact that the Orel comrades are themselves now able to teach others gives us as much satisfaction and real joy. Frankly, much of what we have seen here has been of enormous interest. But it must be said that there are still many so-called 'working people' who come for experience, who go around looking, but... then do precious little to put it into practice."

On their tour of the oblast the meeting participants have seen that the lease system is necessary not only for weak farms, as some economists believe. It helps even those where everything appears to be set up, where they get high profits, to get their "second wind." For example, the kolkhoz named for the 22d party congress in Orlovskiy Rayon, headed by M. Spiridonov, one of the best organizers, which the meeting participants visited. There, following careful preparations, 23 collectives concluded lease contracts. Immediately grain yields nearly doubled, although they had not been low to begin with, and potato and feed crop harvests doubled. This year the yield per cow will be 4,800 kg and profitability looks like 67 percent. In other words, an increase of 52 percent over the past 2 years. Net profit is expected to be in the region of R2 million.

"For a kolkhoz with little more than 3,000 hectares of arable land and 334 people of working age, this is a very high indicator," Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary G. Kolbin observed in a conversation with us. "You cannot help rejoicing at such a result!"

"Program-60" is also a benchmark for all kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the oblast. It is instructive too for many of the visitors who came to the meeting: This is what can be achieved, apparently, in non-chernozem conditions if you handle things creatively and if you persistently put scientists' recommendations and leading experience into practice! This is precisely what the majority of these collectives are doing.

"Program-100" is much more difficult to implement. Because of the residual principle of capital investment in the social sphere and because many villages and hamlets have been declared as having "no future," small schools and district hospitals in them were closed, and construction of housing and cultural and consumer facilities was halted. In short, the difficulties exceeded all bounds and indigenous peasant families began to leave their birthplaces. The aim of "Program-100" is the fundamental transformation of 100 and more farms. The meeting participants will learn more details about how it is being implemented and what difficulties are being encountered in the process on further tours of Orel Oblast rayons.

Orel Conference Ends

LD1511143188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] The Orel conference discussing current questions of the present stage of restructuring, primarily party political backing for fulfillment of the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference on improving food supplies to the population, ended today. The participants in the meeting, which was organized by the CPSU Central Committee, acquainted themselves with the experience of the introduction in Orel Oblast of new production and economic relations, and the acceleration of social development in the countryside.

The results of the meeting were summed up by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in a long speech.

Gorbachev Leaves for Moscow

LD1511180288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] The conference on current questions of the present stage of restructuring, which discussed primarily party political backing for fulfilling the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference on improving food supplies to the population, ended today in Orel. Comrades Gorbachev, Vorotnikov, Zaykov, Ligachev, Nikonov, Vlasov, Razumovskiy, and Solovyev; the first secretaries of Central Committees of the communist parties of union republics and of kray and oblast party committees; and the heads of a number of ministries and departments and of the central mass media organs took part in the conference.

The participants in the meeting, organized by the CPSU Central Committee, acquainted themselves with the introduction in Orel Oblast of new production and economic relations and the acceleration of social development in the countryside. The conference was addressed by Comrade Malofeyev, first secretary of the Minsk party obkom; Pogrebnyak, first secretary of the Lvov party obkom; Nishanov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Uzbek Communist Party; Ulyanov, first secretary of the Kaluga party obkom; Patiashvili, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party; Bogomyakov, first secretary of the Tyumen party obkom; Kolbin, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakh Communist Party; Mesyats, first secretary of the Moscow party obkhom; and Kalashnikov, first secretary of the Volgograd party obkom. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev summed up the meeting in a big speech.

Gorbachev has left for Moscow.

Gorbachev Meets Locals, Tours Orel Oblast

Talks With Kolkhoz Residents

LD1511131888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] After the meeting at the Palace of Soviets, acquaintance with Orel lands and with the enterprises and the people of the agro-industrial complex began. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and participants in the meeting go west of Orel, to a suburban Orel rayon, to the village of Zvyaginki, to the 22nd Party Congress Kolkhoz. There are white, snow-covered fields along the road. In the fields there are well-protected winter crops. In the autumn the sowing took place in good conditions and quite quickly, and now all this is creating favorable conditions for the wintering of the plants. Anyway, tractors are at work in the fields even now. Soil liming is in progress. Here, in the Non-Chernozem Zone, the soil is mostly acidic and requires constant improvement.

The Orel lands and their settlements have gotten visibly younger over the last few years. Fifteen thousand people have come to live and work here, and these are mostly young people. A short stopover along the way and a conversation with the countryside dwellers:

[Begin recording] [Woman] We say thank you with all our heart. On Orel's fair soil we have come to greet you. Please enjoy good health. We are glad to meet you. We bow low before you. Won't you be our guest? Bread and salt we bring you, as per old bequest.

[Gorbachev] Thank you. [applause] Now can we change it around and give it back to you? [laughter]

[Woman] Thank you.

[Gorbachev] Is your farm large?

[Man] Our farm is medium-sized.

[Gorbachev] Are all these yours?

[Man] They are all ours, our working people.

[Woman] That's right. [laughter]

[Gorbachev] Well, what are you going to tell us then? You have all these people here from Moscow and from around the country. I see you haven't even got any questions. What have we come to! It used to be that when you went to a kolkhoz or sovkhoz you would think of all these questions they were going to ask you when you got there. Now they don't even ask questions anymore. [laughter]

As soon as we started to think more about the people and care for their welfare, things changed right away. That's everywhere, both in the cities and in the countryside. Our people can do much if they feel they are cared for and they have living conditions, working conditions of a kind, and that attention is paid to them. Then if you happen to get a good leader, good relations, that's it, our people are responsive to everything.

You know, today the main thing for us—bearing in mind that many problems have accumulated, but we have singled out three main ones—in the first place is the food problem. You, here in Orel, probably feel it less now.

[Voices] It's fine, it's fine.

[Gorbachev] Things are better for you, things have changed for the better. Around the country it is an urgent problem. We need these foodstuffs and goods. We are going for cooperation with other countries. We are also combining our efforts with the fraternal socialist countries with respect to the light and food industry and the agrarian sector. We are even developing these kind of business relations in this area with capitalist countries. All in all we are doing everything to solve these really necessary, vital questions first of all. Well, I have not mentioned housing. It does not even need mentioning. It is also a question which needs solving.

We have come to visit you to see why it is that things suddently have started to change on Orel soil. Frankly we are interested in what is happening here. Why do you think this is so? What is happening here?

[Two women] People are (?working more, working better).

[Gorbachev] You were also like this 5 years ago and now suddenly you have changed. What has happened?

[Woman] The attitude toward us, toward the people has changed.

[Man] The approach is different.

[Woman] The approach has become different, there is more attention, more is devoted precisely to the area of social development. Then, after all, they have started to notice the man, man as the producer.

[Gorbachev] Well, you know the way you talk now you could go into the Central Committee or into the Government right away. [laughter] [words indistinct]

[Gorbachev] That's right. [end recording]

[Correspondent] The 22nd Party Congress Kolkhoz is quite small even by the Non-Chernozem Zone standards. Merely 336 men work here. A competent and scientifically based system of land farming and livestock-breeding made it possible to significantly raise the production efficiency here, but the cause of this farm's successes lies not only there. Over the last few years 114 homes have been built here. The houses are sold to the population under preferential conditions. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and participants in the meeting came to the farm's livestock breeding complex. It carries a large poster: Livestock breeders! Our target is to produce 5000 kg of milk by 1990. Of course, this is a very high indicator that the employees of this farm, this complex are striving for now.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] How many people do you have working here?

[Woman] We have three people (?here).

[Gorbachev] But are you, too, leasing or are you contracting?

[Woman] No, we're leasing.

[Gorbachev] You're leasing?

[Woman] We're leasing.

[Gorbachev] Well, what does leasing mean? Please tell us, we don't know what leasing is. You tell us. And you be quiet.

[Man] I won't say a word. [laughter]

[Woman] We are our own masters. We know what we are working for.

[Man] Be more specific.

[Gorbachev] Hang on, hang on. I will ask the questions.

[Woman] Go ahead.

[Gorbachev] What is at your disposal under the agreement?

[Woman] Under the agreement we have taken premises from the kolkhoz. We have taken 180 calves. We rear them from when they are a day old. We take them as soon as the cow gives birth and we rear them until the fattening age, 16-17 months.

[Woman] We keep, we make 70 percent, I mean anually. We set aside a 15 percent reserve for apprenticeship and for leave, that's a 15 percent reserve.

[Gorbachev] Right.

[Woman] Then from whatever is left we take for maintaining the (?section). Well, we (?don't really have one). Just one team leader for the time being, or rather we are keeping him for the time being. It is our first year and we were a bit scared to give him up. The rest is ours. [end recording]

[Announcer] The visit to Orel Oblast farms continues.

Gorbachev Continues Visit

LD1511151788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Acquaintance with Orel lands, with the enterprises and the people of the agro-industrial complex began next. [passage omitted]:

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and participants in the meeting are being familiarized with the farm's livestock breeding complex:

[Begin recording] [Woman] So in a period of 10 months we delivered 411 quintals in gained weight.

[Gorbachev] Does it show in your wages, what it comes to?

[Woman] It shows in the wages.

[Second woman] Yes, (?it comes to) R280.

[Woman] The monthly wages....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] How come you all get the same? Over there they get 280, you get 280?

[Woman] Two-hundred-and-fifty, 280, 270, that's how it works out; we have had R300.

[Man] (?No, there are) variations, small variations.

[Second woman] But almost all of us get the same.

[Gorbachev] (?The same?)

[Second woman] That's right.

[Woman] You know, the way we work, monthly we get paid in advance, whereas quarterly it depends on who gets what in gained weight. After all, we get it from the gained weight, we sell the gained weight and we live on quarterly account.

[Gorbachev] And all-in-all are you satisfied?

[Woman] Well, strictly speaking, we are. We were already satisfied 2 years ago, when we were still....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] On contracting.

[Woman] On contracting. We changed over completely painlessly. It is almost exactly the same, only simpler. We had already gotten the (?section) together then, we had gotten to know all the people then. And later on we got together, we started to use equipment less, because we used to have tractors here and there, and somehow it all was, well...well, we are learning, strictly speaking, we are learning, we are improving.

[Man] It's only for 3 years.

[Gorbachev] And how do you get the feed you use for fattening?

[Woman] By weight.

[Gorbachev] And what about quality?

[Woman] Quality, well, quality....

[Man, interrupting] It's laboratory checked.

[Gorbachev] On trust?

[Woman] The team leader does it.

[Gorbachev] The team leader?

[Woman] That's right. We haven't been particularly poking our noses in there yet.

[Gorbachev] But you ought to be poking your nose in there.

[Woman] We are, now when we are accounted like this, we scream, we make a fuss. We have to speak out.

[Second woman] But in general our feed is good.

[Gorbachev] What do you do with your money? You still don't seem to have enough.

[Woman] We still don't have enough. We still need, well, we want to build a palace of culture, we need a school....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] That's good, that's right, that's a good thing to do.

[Woman] We need this and that. We still don't have enough money, we need more, we have to work even better.

[Gorbachev] You know, I liked what I heard from one lessee who spoke at the obkom, and I like your way of thinking. You are thinking of your business and your revenues, but at the same time you are also thinking about the kolkhozes revenues, about the fact that you have to build, make welfare provisions, that you need a palace and a school and probably a nursery. That's good. [several indistinct voices]

[Gorbachev] Well, there's no need to be ashamed that the party organization secretary knows how things are.

[Woman] We are trying.

Talks With Kolkhoz Workers

LD1511122688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Text] [AnnouncerJ] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the participants in today's Orel conference familiarized themselves with the economy of the 20th Part Congress Kolkhoz, and chatted with the workers.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] The main aim of our trips, all of them, not just mine, but also the comrades here with me, is still to talk and meet with you.

[Workers] Yes. Yes. We also think so.

[Gorbachev] Much of what we have started in the country is not simple, and requires both from us and from you, from everyone, a different attitude. We all have to change thoroughly. It's not all so simple. If you build a house and then restructure it, it's difficult—but to restructure the country, and to get it changed! Many problems have arisen. For this reason, of course, it is very important for us to know all the time how people...it's all clear...does it not happen that we have strayed a bit from our policy? The fact that you have such an attitude to our actions, to our policy, I feel that such support—I have talked about this several times today—inspires us. Of course, there are probably some people who don't like it. There are some who have become used to not thinking of the people; are left out. They think of shops, bricks, this, that, and the other, but as for people, their feelings, their concerns—that is difficult now for such leaders. Speaking of leaders, time is throwing up others.

But among ordinary people, workers and peasants, there are also feelings that restructuring is not very much accepted. Why? Restructuring means that things must be done in such a way as to obtain good results, in the countryside, in industry and construction, truly good ones. And for that, good wages are recieved, and everything is earned. But many people in our country were paid without earning this pay.

The wheel turns, and what harvest is there? We have just been chatting at the 22d Party Congress Kolkhoz. A young tractor driver, now a team section leader of a leasehold team, spoke to us. He said: We worked before, but he says, well, you turn up, you start the tractor and off we go. The wheel turns, you get the quotas in, you do hectare after hectare, and you get your wages, but there is no harvest. They came to gather it and there were only daisies, he said. He says, the only thing is, we're sorry for the daisies, but let them grow elsewhere. But now, he says, even in a bad year he survives; he survives because he obtained 35 quintals. That's little, he says, imagine—35 is little- - there are barley fields of 70. These are the sort of figures they have started talking about in Orel Oblast. This man has found that restructuring is now to his liking. He says that for all the above-plan grain crops we obtained, they returned to us 3.5 tonnes. Everything above plan was shared. And what is more, he said: Share it among yourselves. You are the bosses, it's your above-plan output, share it. We shared it, he said, and took it away. We feel that it is all connected. But as for those who don't want it, he said, we had to part with some people.

Comrades, we take our cue from those who have grown lazy, who have become insolent and rude. It is not those whom we must cater for. We must cater for hard-working, honest people; the basic mass of people are like that. Today the ordinary citizen did not understand what what happening, what restructuring was, what financial autonomy was, what leasing was, what a cooperative was. But already today people have started trying it out, and things have moved on and are gathering strength. Probably not everything is harmonious, not everything is immediately evolving properly, especially with the cooperatives. There were many observations in Krasnoyarsk, and in Moscow the workers also have observations. They say that some of the cooperative members have very much forgotten and may be even have lost their conscience. But we will resolve that. Last year, Vitaliy Ivanovich cooperative members produced goods worth R380 million in a year. Already this year the figure is R4 billion in 9 months—R4 billion. That is what we need. We need all this output, both output and services, places to have things repaired, places to have things sown. Cooperatives are doing all that, much that is interesting and good. Much still needs to be put right, but we will put it right, we will put it right. We will, ourselves, as it were, be up to the task.

Make a stand at this or that organization, at the soviet, and with the leaders. Don't be shy of doing so. It is all your business. As soon as everything is organized so that you live at the level of how you work and earn, then everything will be in order. Make a stand to put things in order.

In only my first meeting we stopped in Orel Oblast on the approach to Orel. People asked: Well, Mikhail Sergeyevich, when will we have an out-patients' clinic. I said: You know, you must think about such things here. If things are done whereby people come to Moscow simply to ask where to build a house, how to feed a cow, and how to patch a disagreement with the wife—I said this, and they laughed with me—then we will get everything in a mess. Let us have it this way: Let the government think about policy, about a good domestic policy directed at the people, a policy of concern. As for foreign policy, let it ensure peace and the keeping of peace....

[Voices] That is most important.

[Gorbachev] Well, we must be answerable for all that. There are good prerequisites for giving people an economic interest in new approaches and new methods of work. This must all be decided at government level. But what needs to be decided here must be decided here. Do you agree with this approach?

[Voices] Yes, yes.

[Gorbachev] What do people like most about leasing? He [as heard] says, wages are wages. After all, he says, I earned almost the same as before on the tractor. But then everyone was giving me orders. Now, he says, I am my own boss.

Thank you for the meeting; let's go and have a word with the leaseholders.

[Voices] Thank you. [end recording]

[Correspondent] The (Mutsanov) family tends this pig-growing and fattening unit. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev talks to the leader of this family contracting team, (Nikolay Vasiliyevich Mutsanov).

[(Mutsanov)] Mikhail Sergeyevich, people are taking up this matter well. Things are beginning to move, but sluggishly.

[Gorbachev] Sluggishly, yes?

[(Mutsanov)] People are (?taking it up)...

[Gorbachev] And what about the leaders? What is it that does not satisfy them? There will be more kinds of production at the farm. What else do they still need? Are they doing well without leasing, irrespective of the harvest?

[(Mutsanov)] One side is doing well without leasing, the other side is not used (?to having power). As for me, let us say, the chairman now comes to me, to the farm, and I say: It is now my turn to rest.

[Gorbachev] That's right. The chairman of the 22d Party Congress Kolkhoz said the same thing: In the past one had to run after everyone and chase them like a slave driver. And now, friends, time has come for him to reflect on what's what.

[Gorbachev] Or else he will go somewhere and take a glance at what people are doing.

[Voices] [passage indistinct]

[Gorbachev] How much meat do you produce now? You work for three people, so how much will this be?

[(Mutsanov)] Eighty tonnes.

[Gorbachev] And in the past year?

[(Mutsanov)] Twenty-six tonnes.

[Gorbachev] At a pig farm?

[Unidentified voice] It is the only [word indistinct]. It is bigger than the other one.

[(Mutsanov)] More pork, yes.

[Gorbachev] Yes. Twenty-six tonnes.

[(Mutsanov)] And now they will produce 80.

[Gorbachev] [words indistinct] And the cost price is different: It is four times lower. [end recording]

Farm Tours Continue

LD1511161088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] [Announcer] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the participants in the Orel conference continue their tour of farms of the oblast. This is the conversation that took place in the livestock section of the "For Communism" Kolkhoz.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified man] Anna Yegorovna, come up here please. She is leader of a link on a lease collective. Anna Yegorovna (Taykasi).

[Gorbachev] Anna Yegorovna, how many of you work in this collective?

[(Taykasi)] There are 10 of us.

[Gorbachev] How many cows do you have?

[(Taykasi)] One hundred and eighty head.

[Gorbachev] How many months have you been working in this kind of organization?

[(Taykasi)] On lease?

[Gorbachev] Yes.

[(Taykasi)] Since the New Year.

[Gorbachev] The New Year. Has anything changed?

[(Tayksai)] Of course.

[Gorbachev] Did you work here before that?

[(Taykasi)] We did.

[Gorbachev] And what has changed?

[(Taykasi)] What has changed is that we have started to count our money, our expenses, our profit; we count all our money—how much we have earned, how much we have spent, how much....

[Gorbachev] So the work is different?

[(Taykasi)] Of course it is. Since the coming of the new manager there has been more fodder. Before that the fodder was bad.

[Gorbachev] So on lease, a good manager is no hindrance?

[(Taykasi)] Of course.

[Gorbachev] The opposite.

[(Taykasi)] The cows are being replaced with new ones. A new herd....

[Gorbachev] You see, everything is working out: Lease, for one thing, new breeding stock, the fodder base. (?Take out one link) and things won't work.

[(Taykasi)] Of course.

[Gorbachev] (?And what is the prime cost?)

[(Taykasi)] (?Twenty roubles.)

[Unidentified man] From milk alone we get [passage indistinct]. Milk is most profitable on our farm.

[Gorbachev] Milk?

[Man] Milk is the most profitable. We get money from grain crops and milk. But now, since we have gone onto leasing, it has all become more profitable. In the very first year we solved the task of the fodder base. That, for us, was task number one. We set up collective contracting, a production [words indistinct], and people were earning in the very first year.

[Gorbachev] And it was still that, contracting, leasing.

[Man] Yes, yes.

[Gorbachev] How do you live?

[(Taykasi)] Well; we have a well-appointed apartment. But [passage indistinct]. For instance, we do not have enough vehicles, or washing machines, or sewing machines, or color television sets; we cannot buy a nice overcoat or a nice hat in the shops. Those are the kind of problems we have. We have butter, sausage.

[Gorbachev] The food is not bad. That is in keeping with everything we say. First, food for the country, then goods and housing. (?That's what we have to do.)

[Unidentified woman] (?Things are quite good) with regard to housing.

[Gorbachev] It seems two of your problems are solved, but goods—you cannot solve the goods problem.

[Man] Quite, we have not solved the goods problem.

[Gorbachev] So you have already voted firmly in favor of lease, yes?

[(Taykasi), woman, man] Yes, yes.

[Man] Lease (?contracting has taken root for all time on the kolkhoz.)

[Gorbachev] Was it right for the whole farm to go over to leasing at the same time?

[Woman] Of course.

[Man] Yes, the whole farm.

[Gorbachev] Otherwise, when it's just one team, and the others look on, and see that some people are earning more, and are probably being given better fodder, or better equipment....

[Man] Yes, yes.

[Gorbachev] [passage indistinct] and then you get suspicion, criticism, but when it's the whole community then there's a different attitude. [end recording]

Talks to Sovkhoz Residents

LD1511233388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Here is a report from the Podberezovskiy Sovkhoz which Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev visited this morning.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified woman] Our life has improved. [applause]

[Gorbachev] Well, as Russian people say, may God let it be. (?Let there be plenty).

[Woman] We have suffered.

[Gorbachev] You have suffered, so you have something to compare it with.

[Woman] That's why we want to get on with living now.

[Gorbachev] We are very glad that you people here feel well.

[Unidentified man] The most important thing is that there were only 4 children in that old apartment block—two preschool children and two of school age. Now there are 204 and 6 pregnant woman. [male laughter]

[Gorbachev] Yes, and I see that people have come from all over—I have met people here from Norilsk, and Amur, and my own countrymen from the Stavropol Kray. How many nationalities are living here? Twelve? Well, that is good; you can see that it is good. I listened to the speech by Comrade Rays from Kazakhstan. He is one of our Germans, a Soviet German, and I very much liked what he said: Here we have met people from different areas and have immediately become friends. They have come to speak very favorably about the people of Orel Oblast. It is good that people have met up like that and joined, and are already doing great things. We wish you success. On we go! [end recording]

Visits Turgenev-Linked Sites

LD1611050988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich made a trip to places linked with Turgenev. The branch of the Orel Literary Museum of Ivan Sergeyevich Turgenev, which is well known to millions of people, was turned into the (Spasskaya Lutovinova) state memorial and nature museum this year, to mark the 150th anniversary of the writer's birth. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev looked round the writer's house and took a walk through the park, pausing by Turgenev's famous oak. I have always wanted to come here—he said—Ivan Sergeyevich Turgenev is our pride and the pride of the literature of the fatherland, the pride of our entire people. An inscription was left in the guest book today: I am happy to visit these places, sacred to every Russian, and to bow to the land which gave peace to that great son, Ivan Sergeyevich Turgenev.

Scientific

Gorbachev Notes Significance of Shuttle Flight

LD1511220588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] A conference that discussed topical issues of the present stage of restructuring, and primarily the party-political ensuring of the fulfilment of the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference on improving the supply of foodstuffs to the population, ended today in Orel. In the afternoon, the participants in the conference gathered for the concluding plenary session. Taking part in it were Comrades Gorbachev, Vorotnikov, Zaykov, Ligachev, Nikonov, Vlasov, Razumovskiy, and Solovyev.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev opened the session. He said:

[Begin Gorbachev recording] Before completing this meeting in Orel, I would like to congratulate all of you comrades on a great event, an enormous event, and on our country's achievement, an achievement in science and technology by our scientists, intelligentsia, and working class. I refer to the successful first test flight of the automatic system, the "Buran" space flight system, which was launched this morning. After two orbits, this little bird was brought down to earth successfully in the automatic mode. [applause]

This system is the only reusable system in the world. Many years of persistent labor were needed to resolve this very complex scientific-technological task. The fact that this work has been completed successfully is further confirmation, comrades, of our country's enormous possibilities for resolving any problem. It is equal to any task, and in my opinion this also is connected in the most direct fashion to our conversation over these past 2 days because in this case, too, the problem is complex and difficult. It also requires the country's entire potential being brought into operation, but it also can be resolved I think that this is the meaning of our observations over these past 2 days. [end recording]

Official Greetings Extended to Shuttle Workers

LD1511230388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Council of Ministers of the USSR have sent a greetings message to the scientists, designers, engineers, technicians, workers, builders, and military specialists—all those who took part in creating and effecting the launch of the "Energiya" all-purpose rocket space transportation system and the "Buran" orbiter. The message says:

Dear comrades, Soviet science and engineering have won a new and outstanding victory. The experimental launch of the "Energiya" all-purpose rocket space transportation system and the "Buran" reusable orbiter has been carried out successfully. Confirmation has been given to the correctness of the engineering and design decisions that were taken, the effectiveness of the methods of the experimental work-out, and the high reliability of all the systems of that intricate complex. A significant contribution to the development of aviation and space engineering has been made by the creation of an automatic landing system, the reliability of which has been demonstrated by the successful conclusion of the flight of the "Buran" orbiter.

The launching of the "Buran" craft into near-Earth orbit and its successful return to Earth open up a qualitatively new stage in the Soviet space research program and substantially extend our opportunities for space exploration. From now on, Soviet cosmonautics possesses not only the means of placing large payloads into various orbits, but also the ability to return them to Earth.

The use of the new space transportation system in conjunction with expendable booster rockets and with permanent manned orbital complexes makes it possible to concentrate the principal efforts and means on those areas of space exploration that will ensure the maximum economic return to the national economy and will advance science toward higher frontiers.

The CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers of the USSR ardently congratulate on the outstanding achievement of Soviet cosmonautics the scientists, designers, engineers, technicians, workers, builders, the specialists at the Cosmodrome, the Flight Control Center and the control-measuring and landing complexes, and the collectives of all enterprises and organizatons that took part in developing, creating and ensuring the flight of the "Energiya" booster rocket and the "Buran" craft.

The new success of Soviet cosmonautics has once again convincingly demonstrated to the whole world the high level of our motherland's scientific and technical potential.

We wish you, dear comrades, great creative success in your important and responsible work to create modern hardware for the peaceful exploration of space in the name of progress and for the benefit of our great motherland and the whole of mankind.

Military

Chemical Troops Chief Pikalov Interviewed

PM1611101588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Nov 88 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Hero of the Soviet Union Colonel General V. Pikalov, chief of USSR Defense Ministry Chemical Troops, by Colonel V. Moroz: "Face to Face With Danger. Life, Cares, and Deeds of Chemical Soldiers"—place, date not specified]

[Excerpts] In the summer of 1918 a special chemical department was set up in the Worker-Peasant Red Army Main Artillery Directorate: The world war was not yet over, and wide use was being made of toxins on its fronts. On 13 November of that year an order of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic defined the complements of the chemical service and of chemical protection (gas defense) subunits comprising rifle divisions, brigades, and regiments. The history of the chemical troops begins with that document. At KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's request Hero of the Soviet Union Colonel General V. Pikalov, chief of the USSR Defense Ministry Chemical Troops, speaks about their combat path and the tasks they resolve. [passage omitted]

[Moroz] I know that you were not involved in military chemical work during the war.

[Pikalov] For me the details of the Chemical Troops' history and combat path are revealed in archive documents, in which I take a professional interest. I fought as an artilleryman. I received my baptism of fire with the rank of lieutenant and in the post of commander of an antitank gun platoon. I ended the war as an intelligence officer in a howitzer artillery regiment near Berlin. I was wounded there a third time. I survived, graduated from the chemical protection academy, and got to know and love my new combat specialty. It is a specialty of bold people. Chemical soldiers are always face to face with danger, if I may say so.

[Moroz] That is also true of peacetime....

[Pikalov] Peacetime, too, is a severe trial for us. I remember a railroad accident in Lithuania. Eight tanks of chlorine on their way to a pulp and paper combine were wrecked. Chlorine was used as a combat toxin during World War I. Very high concentrations of it were created in the region of the crash owing to the climatic—it was February—and weather conditions. Suffice it to say that the electric motors on all seven firefighting trains sent to the accident zone were put out of commission. The oxidizing effect of the chlorine was so strong. The strictest safety measures were required. Five chemical protection subunits set about dealing with the aftermath of the accident. They set up a field plant to pump the chlorine, forced it out of the wrecked tanks with nitrogen, and transferred it to new vessels several hundred meters away. Not a single person suffered at the time.

A no less complex situation came about in the region of Volovo Station as the result of a freight train crash. Tanks containing a poisonous and dangerously explosive rocket fuel component caught fire there. I could see for myself on the spot that the firemen were unable to defeat the fire. The solution was this: to direct bulldozers toward the tanks on two sides and cover them with earth. The fire was tamed, but the danger remained: The fuel had to be pumped away without fail. Chemical soldiers had to work for 3 days and nights to get under the earth to the hatches. They worked exclusively with wooden tools. Any spark threatened to cause an explosion. We probably resembled then sappers rendering a mined warehouse safe. The fuel was pumped away.

Incidentally, both in this case and previously in Lithuania the population of the nearby settlements was evacuated. Soldiers accommodated them in tents, warmed them, and put them on their own army allowance. Proceeding from bitter experience, mobile detachments to eliminate the aftermath of accidents have been set up within the Chemical Troops' system.

[Moroz] I met people from such a detachment in Chernobyl.

[Pikalov] They were airlifted there together with equipment. Precise information was needed on the radiation situation at the AES itself and on the adjacent territory. Then more and more Chemical Troop units and subunits joined in the work. Specialists had to be called from the reserve. It even happened that father and son soldiers worked alongside each other. Decontamination, radiation monitoring, collection and removal of radioactive discharge products, treatment of areas covering millions of square meters with dust-suppressing solutions.... All these and much besides are our concerns.

[Moroz] What aspects of dealing with the aftermath of the accident at the Chernobyl AES do you remember in particular, Vladimir Karpovich?

[Pikalov] There were many episodes full of drama during the first days after the accident. Reconnaissance immediately above the disintegrated fourth unit proved complex, but it then enabled airmen to begin plugging the reactor with sand, boron, rubber, and clays.

It was difficult to approach the damaged reactor unit. We chose what seemed the most suitable direction, but suddenly, almost at the end of the road, there was a wall. It was dangerous to destroy it with an explosion. We withdrew and began everything again from a different direction. We created a corridor and enabled engineers to set up the remote retrieval of information.

I will never forget how a group of volunteers extracted the unit's standard monitoring and recording apparatus literally from the scorching radioactive heat. Owing to unforeseen complications, they had to work a little longer than proposed. Everything then was measured not in minutes but in roentgen, the dose of radiation.

(Col Gen V. Pikalov personally headed that group of volunteers.)

[Moroz] What are chemical soldiers engaged on in the Chernobyl region today?

[Pikalov] The situation there has changed substantially, but the tasks remain as before—reconnaissance, radiation monitoring, decontamination and, in the summer, dust suppression. Chemical soldiers are cooperating with other troop specialists both at the station itself and inside and outside the evacuation zone—at the so-called "cesium spots."

Five chemical protection units have been awarded the USSR Defense Ministry pennant for courage and military valor. State awards have been conferred upon hundreds of our troops' representatives. But the chief reward for us is the realization that no one, apart from those who suffered while extinguishing the fire in the damaged reactor unit, fell ill with radiation sickness and that the station lives on, supplying the country with energy.

[Moroz] How do the qualitative changes in military affairs affect the Chemical Troops' combat tasks?

[Pikalov] Their purpose is chemical support for combat operations by all branches of the Armed Forces, categories of troops, special troops, and rear services. As previously, the troops are entrusted with using flame-throwing and incendiary weapons and aerosol camouflage facilities. Of course, the emergence of neutron and highly accurate conventional weapons and binary chemical ammunition is making serious corrections to the chemical soldiers' tasks.

[Moroz] Vladimir Karpovich, not so long ago Western specialists visited the Shikhany installation and familiarized themselves with the plant under construction in Chapayevsk designed for the elimination of chemical weapons. In turn our specialists have visited the United States and Britain and familiarized themselves with NATO's chemical arsenal. What common conclusion can be reached after the exchange of information?

[Pikalov] I was still further confirmed in my opinion that competition in the chemical arms sphere does not enhance any people's security. All of civilized mankind will heave a sigh of relief when the elimination of chemical weapons begins.

[Moroz] Do you believe in the possibility of an international agreement on this?

[Pikalov] I do. As long ago as 1929 a USSR delegation submitted to the League of Nations Disarmament Commission a draft treaty banning the manufacture of toxins, but the imperialist states' delegates rejected it. Since then we have repeatedly confirmed our readiness to destroy this kind of mass destruction weapon on a treaty basis and under strict control. But only now, in the epoch of new thinking, are we meeting with understanding from our partners in the talks.

[Moroz] What stage has construction of the Chapayevsk plant reached?

[Pikalov] Startup and adjustment work has begun there. Having concluded the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, our country was the first to embark on the practical elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. If a similar treaty is concluded on chemical weapons, I am sure we will be the first to begin destroying them.

[Moroz] As a front-line soldier, you have repeatedly seen your soldier grandsons in extreme situations. What impressions have you taken away?

[Pikalov] The Chemical Troops, like the Armed Forces as a whole, are rich in staunch, selfless, bold people. We can be proud of our heirs.